

Voices of Four Generations:
A Story of the Japanese Canadian Community from *Issei* to *Yonsei*



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In memory of “Mama,”
my grandmother Ryuko Mori

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Abstract

In my thesis, I study the overall transformation of *Nikkei*, or individuals of Japanese descent, in Canada from first-generation *Issei* to fourth-generation *Yonsei* by drawing on the voices of each generation. How have the Japanese in Canada—once deemed “inassimilable”—transformed into one of the smallest and, statistically, most “assimilated” visible minorities in all of Canada with an intermarriage rate surpassing 95 percent? I examine the reasons behind this phenomenon by interweaving my own family narrative within the larger historical framework. The transformation of the Japanese Canadian community is examined in three distinct stages. The first chapter examines the arrival of the first-generation *Issei* and the creation of a transnational community in Canada. The second chapter explores the destruction of the transnational community, using the internment experience during World War II as a distinct event responsible in large for the distancing of Japanese Canadians from their “Japaneseness.” Lastly, the third chapter examines how the Canadian government’s “repatriation or resettlement” policy forcibly dispersed the community and accelerated their “blending” into mainstream society. Ultimately, my study asks if it is possible for current and future generations of *Nikkei* to *re-member* a Japanese Canadian transnational community. My thesis integrates oral histories of my family members, as well as archival material from Library and Archives Canada (Ottawa) and McMaster University (Hamilton).

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Introduction

As a *Yonsei*, or fourth-generation Japanese, I have always been fascinated with my ancestral roots. Nearly a century ago, my great-grandparents left their families in Kagoshima, Japan in hope of creating a better life for themselves and their children in Canada. When my great-grandmother Natsue Ayukawa boarded *The Empress of Asia* and set off across the Pacific in 1928, she was nearly the same age as I am today. At only twenty-one years of age, she left behind her family, her home, and her country for a new life in Canada. Though neither she nor my great-grandfather, Shizuo Ayukawa, are here to tell their story, the strength and courage of the *Issei*, or first-generation Japanese, continue to live on through subsequent generations in my family.

Upon arrival, my great-grandparents faced tremendous adversity. In the eyes of most British Columbians, Japanese immigrants were seen as racial Others and, thus, incapable of assimilating into mainstream society. Their children, the second-generation *Nisei*, were Canadian citizens, yet likewise regarded as a threat to the homogeneity of an all-white Canada. With the outbreak of World War II, all individuals of Japanese descent, regardless of their citizenship, were deemed “enemy aliens” and subject to internment. Though for many, Canada was the only country that had ever been their home, the government saw people of Japanese descent as inextricably tied to Japan.

For nearly four years, thousands of Japanese Canadians were imprisoned within their own country. As the war came to an end in 1945, Japanese Canadians were forced to make a difficult decision—one that would forever change the course of their lives and those of their children. With the government’s issuing of the “repatriation or resettlement” policy, my family, like thousands of others, was forced to “choose” between renouncing their Canadian

citizenship and accepting deportation to Japan or resettling in Canadian communities “East of the Rockies.”¹ For the majority of Japanese Canadians, Japan had never—and would never—be their home. For my family, resettling would be a risk, but a risk worth taking considering the conditions they would face upon moving to, what was then, a completely devastated war-torn Japan. Never again would the Ayukawa family return to British Columbia.

The forced dispersal and consequent destruction of the Japanese Canadian community in British Columbia undoubtedly transformed my family’s identity over time. Though a great deal of silence once surrounded the treatment of the *Issei* and *Nisei* as racialized Others, I hope to pay tribute to my family’s strength and resilience by telling the stories of those who have come before me. Like many third-generation *Sansei*, my mother learned very little about her Japanese heritage. The culture, the language and, to a great extent, the pride of the Japanese Canadian community was irreparably damaged. The desire to “blend in” is perhaps best exemplified by the fact that Japanese Canadians have the highest intermarriage rate of any visible minority in Canada. This trend is evident within my own family, in which all *Yonsei* are of mixed ethnicity. Despite the fact I am only half-Japanese, I cannot help but feel a desire to reconnect with my Japanese roots. Perhaps it is because it constitutes a part of me that has been silenced by generations of pain and hardship endured by my family.

Existing literature on the transformation of the Japanese Canadian community traces anti-Japanese sentiment from the late 19th century and early 20th century through the period of internment and post-internment period. In particular, historians often examine racial hostility toward the Japanese, Chinese, South Asians, and other minorities deemed “inassimilable”

¹ Moving east of the Rocky Mountains meant that Japanese Canadians were to leave British Columbia and settle

and the subsequent restrictions on immigration in the early 20th century. Peter Ward's *White Canada Forever* (1978), Patricia Roy's *The Oriental Question: Consolidating a White Man's Province, 1914-1941* (2003), and John Price's *Orienting Canada: Race, Empire, and the Transpacific* (2011) all provide significant contextualization of the racial hostility toward Japanese immigrants in Canada prior to the outbreak of World War II.

Moreover, the internment experience in North America has become a subject of extensive research. Countless books document the severe injustices faced by those of Japanese ancestry during the war. The story of the Japanese Americans, however, often overshadows that of the Japanese Canadians. Over the years, I have been surprised to learn that many individuals are unaware of the internment in Canada. While the Canadian government policies and internment experiences were similar to those in America, an examination of Japanese immigration to the United States and subsequent internment of Japanese Americans is, by no means, a just representation of the Japanese Canadian experience. Among the first and most notable books on the Japanese Canadian experience are Ken Adachi's *The Enemy That Never Was* (1971) and Ann Sunahara's *The Politics of Racism: The Uprooting of Japanese Canadians during the Second World War* (1981). Throughout my thesis, I will draw heavily on Greg Robinson's *The Tragedy of Democracy: Japanese Confinement in North America* (2010), which is one of the best-recognized historical examinations of both the Japanese American and Japanese Canadian experiences to date.

An increasing amount of literature has also explored the long-term and cross-generational effects of the internment. Among the studies on generational change, Tomoko Makaba's *Sansei* (1998) provides insightful analyses of the transformation between first,

second and third-generation Japanese. Mona Oikawa's *Cartographies of Violence: Women, Memory, and the Subjects of Internment* (2011), as well as works by Pamela Sugiman, likewise explore these generational changes, with an emphasis on themes of memory and silence. In recent years, the rapidly changing identity of the Japanese Canadian community has gained significant attention. In 2003, leaders, scholars and other members of the Japanese Canadian community convened at the University of Victoria, B.C. for a conference on "Changing Japanese Identities in Multicultural Canada." Throughout my thesis, I will also reference papers presented at this conference.

According to 2006 census data, Japanese Canadians are statistically the most intermarried of any visible minority.² Approximately 75 percent of Japanese Canadians are in a "mixed union," and the intermarriage rate is upwards of 95 percent.³ Canadian filmmaker Jeff Chiba Stearns, a *Yonsei*, explores this phenomenon in an animated documentary *One Big Hapa Family* (2010). Like Stearns, I am fascinated by the remarkable and relatively fast transformation of the Japanese Canadian community. His work, which celebrates the increasing diversity of the Japanese Canadian community, challenges the notion that Japanese Canadians are becoming more "diluted" and "fading away." Instead, he argues that by increasing the number of out-group pairings, the Japanese Canadian community is becoming more inclusive, diverse and dynamic.

My thesis is at once personal and historical. I seek to address the overall transformation of *Nikkei*, or individuals of Japanese descent, in Canada from first-generation *Issei* to fourth-generation *Yonsei* by drawing on the *voices* of each generation. How have the

² Anne Milan and T. Chui Maheux, "A Portrait of Couples in Mixed Unions," *Canadian Social Trends*, no. 89. Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 11-008-X (2010): 70-82.

³ National Association of Japanese Canadians, "Japanese Canadians Today," Japanese Canadian Association, <http://www.najc.ca/thenandnow/today.php> (accessed April 12, 2013).

Japanese in Canada—once deemed “inassimilable”— transformed into one of the smallest and, statistically, *most* “assimilated” ethnic minorities in all of Canada with an intermarriage rate surpassing 95 percent? I hope to examine the reason behind this phenomenon by interweaving my own family history within the larger historical framework.⁴ Moreover, I will consider ways in which my family’s story has intersected with the dominant historical narrative and ways it has diverged. Although many transnational immigrant communities have retained a distinct ethnic identity over time, the Japanese Canadian community has changed tremendously from the turn of the 20th century to the present-day. Since the arrival of the first *Issei* in British Columbia, Canadian *Nikkei* identity has continually been reshaped and renegotiated. To best demonstrate the phenomenon of an “inassimilable” minority to one that has become highly assimilated, I will examine the transformation of the Japanese-Canadian community in three distinct stages.

The first chapter, “*Issei* Pioneers and the Creation of a Transnational Community in Canada,” provides a historical context for the racialization of Japanese as “enemy aliens.” It begins by examining Japan’s relatively quick transformation from a “closed country,” in which individuals who left the country would be subject to death, to one with open doors promoting wide-scale emigration. Emigrants set off for other countries in East Asia, as well as North America, South America, and Australia in order to seek greater opportunity and escape the poverty of Meiji Japan. The chapter then shifts to the immigrant experience upon arrival on the West Coast during the late 19th and early 20th century. Though Japan was no longer a “locked” country, widespread anti-Japanese sentiment and fear of a “yellow peril” forced immigrants to essentially become “locked” away in their new host countries. Canada

⁴ See Appendix A, Timeline of important events.

was founded upon an ideal of Anglo-conformity, and Japanese immigrants were seen to threaten the “purity” of an all-white nation. Throughout the first chapter, I will integrate the story of my great-grandparents as they set off across the Pacific and established a new life for themselves in Canada. The story of the Ayukawa family is unique and offers a glimpse into the lives of Japanese Canadians who established themselves in transnational farming communities.

Although the immigrant experience in the United States and Canada were, by no means, the same, the immigration policies of these two countries were inextricably related. As the Japanese Empire became increasingly aggressive on the world stage, anti-Japanese sentiments intensified along the West Coast. In response, both the U.S and Canadian governments took various measures to restrict immigration. Ultimately, the years prior to Pearl Harbor provide context for the racialization of Japanese as “enemy aliens” and justification of the internment. In this manner, the first chapter is an archeological dig of sorts. It seeks to demonstrate that the internment was not an isolated event in history, but rather the culmination of half a century of racial hatred.

The second chapter, “The Destruction of a Transnational Community,” will explore the internment experience during World War II as a distinct event responsible in large for the distancing of Japanese Canadians from their heritage and accelerating their desire to “blend” into mainstream society. The decision to intern all individuals of Japanese descent, regardless of their citizenship, was a blatant institutionalization of racism on behalf of the Canadian and American governments.

Following Japan’s attack on Pearl Harbor, Japanese Canadian families were uprooted from their homes in British Columbia and forced to live for several years as prisoners within

their own country. This trauma ultimately led many *Nisei* to sever ties with their ancestral past. By drawing on oral histories conducted with *Nisei* in my family, I hope to offer an intimate, yet raw account of life within the Japanese Canadian internment camps. Through the stories of several *Nisei* in my family, I challenge the notion of the “singular” Japanese Canadian internment experience. Their experiences varied from camp to camp, from family to family, and from individual to individual. In this chapter, I will include family photographs, as well as archival material from the Ayukawa Family Fonds, located in Library and Archives Canada in Ottawa. By analyzing letters written by the Barnett family, white British Columbian friends of the Ayukawas, I hope to challenge the polar binary between Japanese Canadians and racist, white British Columbian society. Moreover, shedding light on the confiscation of the Ayukawa land provides another context in which to understand the theft committed by the Canadian government. My family’s wartime accounts will serve as a basis for understanding the generational change among Japanese Canadians in the postwar years.

The third chapter “Blending in ‘East of the Rockies’” will examine how the dispersal of Japanese Canadians following the internment ultimately led to their accelerated assimilation into mainstream Canadian society. Per government policy, Japanese Canadians were forced to “choose” between “repatriating” Japan, a place that to many was only a distant memory—and for some, a completely foreign land— or resettle “East of the Rockies.” Because the geographic concentration and formation of immigrant “colonies” on the West Coast was perceived as inherently threatening to mainstream society, geographic dispersal became the only means of integrating Japanese Canadians into the fabric of “Canadian” life. While the first portion of this chapter discusses the government’s efforts to

effectively control and assimilate the Japanese Canadian population, the second portion offers a contesting narrative by shedding light on my family's ability to achieve mobility in the postwar years. I argue that, rather than assimilate, many of my family members *strategically* "blended in" in order to preserve their individual agency and ensure the success of future generations. In this manner, I attempt to erase the image of the Japanese Canadian victimized by the Canadian government. Using first-hand accounts of *Nisei* and *Sansei*, I will shed light on my family's ability to thrive, despite years of trauma and subordination. Likewise, the emergence of a new generation of the third-generation *Sansei* as highly mobile and successful demonstrates the resilience of the Japanese Canadian community in the post-internment years. Lastly, I examine the "blending" in of Japanese Canadians by discussing the high rate of intermarriage and subsequent emergence of the mixed-ethnic identity of fourth-generation *Yonsei*.

The past century of historical violence committed against the Japanese Canadian community sheds light on how an "inassimilable" group has become the most intermarried (read: most "assimilated") visible minority in all of Canada. However, much of Japanese Canadian history still remains buried in silence. Ultimately, as the intermarriage rate increases, will it be possible for future generations of Japanese Canadians to connect with their Japanese roots? Given that the *Yonsei* are still a relatively young generation, it is likely that more research will be conducted on this phenomenon in the near future. As a *Yonsei*, I bring a unique perspective to the existing literature. I hope that by integrating the oral histories and "snapshots" of my family members, together with historical archival material, I am able to offer an intimate account of the creation and destruction of the transnational

Japanese Canadian community, as well as the eventual “blending” of Japanese Canadians into “Canadian” society.

Chapter 1: *Issei* Pioneers and the Creation of a Canadian Transnational Community



Figure 1.1 Family of Shizuo Ayukawa, Kagoshima, Japan. *Source:* Ayukawa family.
Third from right, Shizuo's father Inosuke Ayukawa;
Second from right, Shizuo's mother Kiku Ayukawa.



Figure 1.2. Family of Natsue Aihoshi, Kagoshima, Japan. *Source:* Ayukawa family.
Third from left, Natsue's father Tobo Yosajji;
Second from right, Natsue's mother Tomo Aihoshi.

Looking back at these portraits is like gaining a glimpse into another world. To the left stands the family of my great-grandfather, Shizuo Ayukawa, and to the right stands the family of my great-grandmother Natsue Ayukawa. Both families were from the Kagoshima Prefecture, located at the southwestern most tip of the island Kyushu. The faces of my family five generations ago provide a context for understanding what life may have been looked like in their rural Japanese hometowns before the *Issei*, or first-generation Japanese, “pioneers” set off across the Pacific. For me, these pictures represent a nostalgia—a longing for the Japan to which my family would never return following their journey to Canada. Upon arrival in their “host” country, perhaps these are the faces my great-grandparents would remember when longing for “home.” These remnants of the past are the only remaining images of my family in Kagoshima. To me, they represent an “imagined” Japan—a Japan that existed long ago, yet which exists now only in memory.

For nearly two centuries, Japan prided itself on a policy of seclusion known as *sakoku*, or “locked country.” During the Tokugawa era (1633-1853), Japan’s national seclusion policy strictly forbade emigration. The Sakoku Edicts (1633-1639) not only enforced restricted trade policies and the infiltration of Christianity, but also mandated that individuals entering and leaving Japan would be sentenced to death. However, in just a short period of time, Japan cast aside its reputation as an isolated feudal country and adopted a new identity as a modern, industrial empire.

West Meets East: The Opening of Japan

Perhaps the single most important factor in catalyzing this transformation was the arrival of U.S. Commodore Perry’s “black ships” in 1853. Under the banner of “Manifest Destiny,” America was determined to expand its influence into the Pacific and “unlock” Japan. The small island nation, which at the time had no navy to defend itself against the American incursion, had little choice but to comply. Perry’s demands for a trade treaty and the opening of Japanese ports to U.S. merchants set the stage for a series of unequal treaties imposed by Russia, Britain, France and Holland.⁵ Rather than continue to subject itself to Western domination, Japan set out to establish its own identity as a leader on the global stage.

The Meiji Restoration in 1868 set the stage for Japan’s transformation from a feudal country to a dominant world power. It marked the end of rule by the Tokugawa shogunate and the ascent to power of the emperor.⁶ Prior to this point, the Japanese government forbade individuals from leaving the country. However, under the Emperor’s Charter Oath,

⁵ Asia for Educators, “Commodore Perry and Japan (1853-1854),” Columbia University, http://afe.easia.columbia.edu/special/japan_1750_perry.htm (accessed April 12, 2013).

⁶ The Tokugawa shogunate, Japan’s feudal military government, existed during the Edo Period (1600-1868).

it was declared that “knowledge [would] be sought for throughout the world so that the welfare of the Empire [could] be promoted.”⁷ Students and government observers were subsequently sent to study Western models of society.⁸

The Meiji Restoration also marked a significant turning point for Japan, as it ushered in an age of emigration. In 1868, an American businessman recruited 150 Japanese laborers to work on Hawaiian sugar plantations. However, as a result of the “slave-like treatment” Japanese immigrants faced in Hawaii, the Meiji government forbade emigration over the next two decades.⁹ Agricultural settlements were later established in California. Though emigration was still technically considered illegal in Japan, workers continued to be recruited overseas. By 1877, the first Japanese emigrant arrived in British Columbia. This trend was accelerated by the implementation of the Chinese Exclusion Act by the United States in 1882.¹⁰ With the barring of all laborers of Chinese ancestry from entering the United States, the demand for Japanese laborers to replace them in North America grew.

1885, Japan entered a “take-off” period of diaspora for *dekasegi* (“sojourner”) migrant labor.¹¹ The Immigration Convention proposed by the Japanese and Hawaiian governments allowed for the migration of 29,000 Japanese laborers to travel to Hawaii on three-year contracts over the next nine years. It is important to note, however, that the Japanese emigrants that settled in North America were only a fraction of the total number of

⁷ Charter Oath, quoted in Ken Adachi, *The Enemy That Never Was* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1991), 13.

⁸ Greg Robinson, *A Tragedy of Democracy: Japanese Confinement in North America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), 7.

⁹ International Nikkei Research Project. “Brief Historical Overview of Japanese Emigration, 1868-1998.” Japanese American National Museum. <http://www.janm.org/projects/inrp/english/overview.htm> (accessed 1 March 2013).

¹⁰ Robinson, *A Tragedy of Democracy*, 8.

¹¹ Nobuko Adachi, ed. *Japanese and Nikkei at Home and Abroad: Negotiating Identities in a Global World* (Amherst: Cambria Press, 2010), 34.

migrants who left Meiji Japan at the beginning of the 20th century.¹² Many Japanese emigrated within Asia and the Pacific, including to some of Japan's annexed colonies. Others immigrated to Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines and the South Pacific, yet an even greater number immigrated to South America.¹³ The Japanese *dekasegi* emigrants often had no intention of settling in their host countries. Rather, they journeyed to foreign countries for temporary work with the hope of saving enough earnings before their return home. Many sent money back to Japan, both to personal bank accounts and relatives.¹⁴ In this way, *dekasegi* immigrant laborers maintained strong transnational ties to their homeland and continued to benefit the Japanese state. In doing so, *dekasegi* laborers helped usher in the development of a Japanese economy that could effectively compete with the industrial powers of the West.¹⁵

By 1893, Japanese government officials, together with politicians and intellectuals who sought the development of Japanese "colonies" abroad, created the Colonization Society. The most direct mechanism for promoting emigration was through the support of emigration companies. By 1894, private corporations in Japan were created to oversee and encourage emigration, in particular, to South America.¹⁶ In the eyes of the Colonization Society, Japanese "colonies" abroad would not only open new markets abroad, but also lessen the burden of Japan's rising unemployment and severe population pressures. Emigration was essentially a "safety valve" for its struggling society.¹⁷ Though the attempt

¹² Robinson, *A Tragedy of Democracy*, 9.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid., 10.

¹⁵ Donald Hastings, "Japanese Emigration and Assimilation in Brazil," *International Migration Review* 3, no. 2 (Spring, 1969), 33.

¹⁶ Michiko Midge Ayukawa, *Hiroshima Immigrants in Canada: 1891-1941* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2008), 23.

¹⁷ Stewart Lone, *The Japanese Community in Brazil, 1908-1940: Between Samurai and Carnival* (Houndmills: Palgrave MacMillan, 2001), 13.

to create an agricultural colony in Mexico in 1897 failed, it set the stage for Japanese emigration to Latin America.¹⁸ While my great-grandmother Natsue Ayukawa *nee* Tobo ultimately immigrated to Canada, three of her brothers took a markedly different path and set off for the coffee plantations of Sao Paulo, Brazil. Though they may have originally intended to return to Kagoshima, the Ayukawa brothers remained in Sao Paulo, where their descendants have lived for four generations. Today, the *Nikkei* population in Brazil is approximately 1.5 million people, constituting the largest population of Japanese outside of Japan.



Figure 1.3. Japanese Government Emigration Propaganda. *Source:* Museum of Japanese Immigration, São Paulo, Brazil.

The fact that only one of my great-grandmother's siblings remained in Kagoshima suggests that great incentive existed for individuals to immigrate to North and South America. The beginning of the 20th century in rural Japan was marked by extreme economic hardship and radical political changes of the Meiji period.¹⁹ For the rural population in

¹⁸ International Nikkei Research Project, "Historical Overview 1868-1998."

¹⁹ See Andrew Gordon, "Chapter 5: The Samurai Revolution," in *A Modern History of Japan: From Tokugawa to the Present* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).

particular, Japan offered little hope for improving their lives. Not only were taxes high and food prices depressed, but military conscription was also a likely reality.²⁰ At the beginning of the 20th century, many young male *Issei* known as “school boys” set off for the United States with hopes of receiving an education. At this time, a growing number of emigrants began leaving for the United States and Canada. As David Sulz remarks, “There were good reasons for Tokyo to encourage emigration to Western nations like Canada in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries: improved access to new technologies and natural resources, economic opportunities for its citizens, remittance income, and increased traffic for Japanese shipping.”²¹ For my great-grandfather and great-grandmother, Shizuo and Natsue Ayukawa, Canada would soon become home.

East Meets West: Journey to Canada

Upon arrival, *Issei* faced extreme hostility and, mostly out of necessity, separated themselves from British Columbian society.²² To better understand why Japanese immigrant communities became so segregated from mainstream society, it is important to contextualize the migration of Japanese emigrants within Canada’s greater historical framework. As a dominion of Britain, Canada was founded upon an ideal of Anglo-conformity. *Multicultural Canada*, a collaborative online resource provided by the Department of Canadian Heritage and Libraries and Archives Canada, writes of Canadian history that:

In English-speaking Canada the institutions of the civic culture required little or no discussion of what constituted Canadian identity. In its public face, it proclaimed itself to be a stalwart outpost of British institutions and

²⁰ Lone, *Japanese Community in Brazil*, 15.

²¹ David Sulz, “Transitional Relations: Japanese Immigration and the *Suian Maru* Affair, 1900-11,” in *Contradictory Impulses: Canada and Japan in the Twentieth Century*, eds. Greg Donaghy and Patricia E. Roy (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2008), 46.

²² Robinson, *A Tragedy of Democracy*, 11.

civility in North America. Anglo-Canadians were in North America, but were not Americans; they were British subjects resident in Canada. To the degree that a myth of national identity was officially presented, it was fixed on Canada making its own way in the world but, at the same time, remaining integrally linked to the larger destiny of the British people, in alliance with the other white dominions. By this vision, English Canada proclaimed itself to be a rock of British imperial certainty in the New World, while it drew a line separating itself culturally and emotionally from the American experiment to the south.²³

Although immigrants were vital to increasing Canada's population and allowing the nation to thrive, they were seen as threatening the nation's "all-white" racial purity. The enduring myth of Canada as "the Great White North" perpetuated "the dominance of 'whiteness' as a cultural norm."²⁴ In 1897, British Columbian legislature voted on laws to restrict Japanese immigration on the basis of race. However, unlike the United States, which severed its ties with Britain, Canada to a large extent remained subject to colonial terms under the influence of the British Empire.²⁵ Consequently, its identity as a dominion government forced Canada to act in accordance with British imperial foreign policy.²⁶ In particular, the Canadian government was cautious not to disturb the newly formed Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1902 to which it had become a signatory in 1906. This alliance was designed to not only "check Russian ambitions in Asia," but also "restrain Japanese aggression in the Pacific, thereby reducing the possibility of a clash between the United and Japan."²⁷ Though the treaty

²³ *The Encyclopedia of Canada's Peoples*, s.v. "Multiculturalism and Canadian Identity," <http://www.multiculturalcanada.ca/Encyclopedia/A-Z/m9/3> (accessed February 1, 2013).

²⁴ Andrew Baldwin, Laura Cameron, and Audrey Kobayashi, "Introduction: Where is the Great White North? Spatializing History, Historicizing Whiteness," in *Rethinking the Great White North: Race, Nature, and the Historical Geographies of Whiteness in Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011), 1.

²⁵ Vic Satzewich and Nikolaos Liodakis, *'Race' & Ethnicity in Canada: A Critical Introduction* (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2010), 29.

²⁶ Robinson, *A Tragedy of Democracy*, 12.

²⁷ Gregory A. Johnson and Galen Roger Perras, "A Menace to the Country and the Empire: Perceptions of the Japanese Military Threat to Canada before 1931," in Donaghy, 63.

legally provided Japanese subjects with free entry to Canada, Japan sensed hostility and restricted immigration to Canada, which nearly came to a standstill from 1901 to 1905.²⁸

In addition to immigration policy, other laws were enacted to severely limit the prosperity of Japanese immigrants. In 1895, British Columbian law barred all Japanese Canadians, regardless of whether they were citizens by birth or naturalization, from voting rights.²⁹ They were subsequently denied entry into a number of professions, including law and pharmacy.³⁰ Under Canadian law, Japanese Canadians were free to naturalize and become British subjects, essentially the equivalent of Canadian citizenship.³¹ Approximately sixteen percent of *Issei* adopted British nationality. Though Canadian policy appears to be more liberal than U.S. policy, which denied Japanese immigrants citizenship, Japanese Canadians nonetheless were vulnerable to the pervasive racial animosity in British Columbia. Moreover, because Canada did not have a constitution or bill of rights, Japanese Canadians were even more susceptible to civil rights abuses upon the outbreak of World War II. As Roy Miki argues, through exclusionary immigration policies and anti-Japanese sentiment on the West Coast, Canada continued to support a “‘two-tiered structure of citizenship’ that [produced] and sustained a racial social order.”³² Japanese immigrants and their families

²⁸ Johnson and Perras, “Menace to the Country,” 63.

²⁹ *Issei* and Canadian-born *Nisei* were denied the right to vote until 1948.

³⁰ Robinson, *A Tragedy of Democracy*, 12-13.

³¹ Louis Fiset and Gail M. Nomura, introduction to *Nikkei in the Pacific Northwest: Japanese Americans & Japanese Canadians in the Twentieth Century*, eds. Louis Fiset and Gail M. Nomura (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005), 8.

³² Sherene Razack, ed. *Race, Space, and the Law: Unmapping a White Settler Society* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2002), 4, quoted in Leanne Taylor, Carl E. James, and Roger Saul, “Who Belongs? Exploring Race and Racialization in Canada,” in *Race, Racialization, and Antiracism in Canada and Beyond*, eds. Genevieve Fuji Johnson and Randy Enomoto (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), 158.

were considered “strangers,” and, as such, were to be written out of the nation’s “legal and symbolic boundaries.”³³

By contrast to the British, white Americans, and Northern Europeans, visible minorities, including non-European and non-white immigrants, were regarded as highly “undesirable.”³⁴ Through strict immigration policy, the Canadian government attempted—and succeeded in—restricting immigrants who were seen as “unsuitable” because of their race, ethnicity, or country of origin.³⁵ As Peter Ward argues, anti-Asian sentiment in British Columbia was far more than fear of economic competition. Racism in this context was “fundamentally a problem in the social psychology of race relations.”³⁶ For the majority of the 20th century, those in power were determined to define who could become a “Canadian.”³⁷ Initially, the Chinese were seen as highly inassimilable and a threat to the Anglo-conformist model in British Columbia. In 1885, the Canadian government implemented a head tax to limit the migration of Chinese to the West Coast, yet this ultimately proved to be ineffective. Despite various other measures of disenfranchisement, Chinese immigrants appeared dangerous in the eyes of mainstream society.

The arrival of migrants from Japan and India only further exacerbated this racial hysteria. By the beginning of the 20th century, approximately 15,000 Japanese emigrants had arrived in British Columbia.³⁸ The Japanese, like the Chinese, were considered to be part of a

³³ Roy Miki, “Turning In, Turning Out: The Shifting Formations of ‘Japanese Canadian’ from Uprooting to Redress,” in *Changing Japanese Identities in Multicultural Canada*, eds. Joseph F. Kess, et al. (Victoria: University of Victoria, 2003), 31.

³⁴ Satzewich and Lioudakis, *Race' & Ethnicity*, 57.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 54.

³⁶ W. P. Ward, *White Canada Forever: Popular Attitudes and Public Policy Toward Orientals in British Columbia* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002), ix.

³⁷ Leanne Taylor, Carl E. James, and Roger Saul, “Who Belongs? Exploring Race and Racialization in Canada,” in *Race, Racialization, and Antiracism in Canada and Beyond*, eds. Genevieve Fuji Johnson and Randy Enomoto (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), 158.

³⁸ John Price, *Orienting Canada: Race, Empire, and the Transpacific* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011), 17.

“growing problem.” They were perceived as one, indistinguishable group of “Orientals,” many of whom could not speak English and “endangered the ideal of [w]hite homogeneity” in British Columbia.³⁹ For those that did manage to enter the country despite immigration restrictions, the Canadian government made it a priority to severely limit the civil, political and economic rights of those they deemed racial Others.⁴⁰

Initially, Westerners perceived Japanese and Chinese to be indistinguishable. Japanese immigrants were described by racist British Columbians as having “more energy, push and independence” and depicted as inherently antagonistic.⁴¹ These sentiments are evident in the remarks of a former Vancouver resident and Presbyterian clergyman R.G. MacBeth:

...the Japanese, while remaining here in large measure unassimilated, are more vain and aggressive. They are not content to do the lower and, in some senses, the more menial work as the Chinese are: they will not be hewers of wood and drawers of water; they push themselves into every avenue of business, and at the present time, for instance they have practically pushed white men out of the extensive fishing industry of British Columbia.⁴²

The belief that Japanese immigrants were “inassimilable” and “aggressive” became pervasive along the West Coast. The remark that they “push[ed]” themselves into every “avenue of business” sheds light on fears of economic competition that emerged throughout British Columbian society. By 1902, more fishermen in British Columbia were Japanese than white or Indian, which further confirmed fears of Japanese “domination” of the fishing industry. Similar fears emerged a decade later as an increasing number of Japanese immigrants, such

³⁹ Thomas R. Berger, “The Banished Canadians: Mackenzie King and the Japanese Canadians,” *Fragile Freedoms: Human Rights and Dissent in Canada* (Toronto: Irwin, 1982), 95, quoted in Anne Doré, “Transnational Communities: Japanese Canadians of the Fraser Valley, 1904-1942,” *BC Studies: The British Columbian Quarterly* 134 (2002): 41.

⁴⁰ Satzewich and Liodakis, ‘Race’ & Ethnicity, 61.

⁴¹ Price, *Orienteering Canada*, 17.

⁴² “Chinese and Japanese,” in *Canadian Problems*, ed. W.R. McIntosh (Toronto: R. Douglas Fraser, 1910), 53, quoted in Ward, *White Canada Forever*, 104.

as the Ayukawa family, began farming in the Okanagan and Fraser River valleys.⁴³ As Peter Ward remarks, “From the time of their arrival, the theme of Japanese economic penetration persisted in British Columbian thought.”⁴⁴ The immigrants’ ability to achieve mobility and succeed in both the fishing and farming industries were, thus, perceived as direct threats to British Columbia society.

As Japan gained a reputation as an advanced, militaristic imperial power, anti-Japanese sentiment steadily rose. Under the banner of “*fukoku kyohei*” (“rich country, strong army”), Japan was committed to proving itself as an industrialized and highly militarized nation.⁴⁵ Overturning its unequal treaties with the West in 1895 and defeating China in the 1894-1895 Sino-Japanese War were two events that sparked its ascent to power. The formation of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance in 1902, the first treaty between a Western power and an Asian nation, further confirmed Japan’s new identity as one with the West. Japan continued to ascend to power and successfully defeated Russia in the 1904-1905 Russo-Japanese War. As the first non-Western nation to defeat a European power, Japan gained recognition throughout the world as a military powerhouse.⁴⁶ In the following decades, Japan continued to conquer and colonize its East Asian neighbors, including Korea, Taiwan, and several territories in the Pacific. Japan’s reputation as the only non-west, “non-white” imperial power created an interesting dynamic between its position of superiority and its East Asian colonies. As Leo Ching explains, “The belatedness of Japanese imperialism and its ‘non-white’ racial constitution have certainly required the Japanese to create different sets of what Edward Said has called the ‘strategy of positional superiority’ in relation to its

⁴³ Ward, *White Canada Forever*, 103.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Price, *Orienting Canada*, 18.

⁴⁶ Robinson, *A Tragedy of Democracy*, 13.

colonized.”⁴⁷ Ching coins Japan’s unique identity as “not white, not quite, yet alike.” In this manner, Japan sought to establish a reputation as a leader of East Asia and a fierce competitor of the West. However, Japan would never be “white” enough to stand alongside these Western powers as an equal.

Although Canada often supported Japan as an ally of Britain, tension in U.S.-Japan relations often influenced Canada’s treatment of incoming Japanese migrants. In particular, Japan’s recent victories in the international arena instilled fear of a new “Yellow Peril” on the West Coast. After Japan’s victory in the Russo-Japanese war, President Roosevelt took action and restricted Japanese immigration from Hawaii, Mexico and Canada. Thus, “the American decision to close the door to Japanese immigrants had an immediate impact on British Columbia.”⁴⁸ In total, approximately five thousand Japanese immigrated to Canada between 1906 and 1907. The population of *Issei* more than doubled, and tensions ran high.⁴⁹ In July 1907 alone, 2,324 Japanese immigrants arrived in B.C. As economic competition with white workers intensified, so did fear of the Japanese “menace.”⁵⁰ This rise in Japanese immigration was undoubtedly a driving force behind the escalating racial hostility on the West Coast. In 1907, the recently formed Asiatic Exclusion League in Vancouver sponsored a mass demonstration, which broke out in violence. In what became known as the Vancouver Riots, white British Columbians attacked Chinese and Japanese neighborhoods, causing a significant amount of damage. Even more telling was the government’s response. Federal opposition leaders defended the riots, noting that British Columbia needed to remain

⁴⁷ Leo T.S Ching, *Becoming “Japanese”: Colonial Taiwan and the Politics of Identity Formation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 26.

⁴⁸ Johnson and Perras, “Menace to Country,” 65.

⁴⁹ Robinson, *A Tragedy of Democracy*, 15.

⁵⁰ Bill Ong Hing, *Making and Remaking Asian America through Immigration Policy, 1850-1990* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993), 28.

a “white man’s province.”⁵¹ Likewise, in 1908, Canada’s immigration minister Robert Borden declared that “the Conservative Party [stood] for a white Canada.”⁵² In this manner, Canadian government officials capitalized on racist sentiment and utilized immigration policy as a tool to essentially control who could become “Canadian.”⁵³

In this manner, the gradual “encroachment” of the Japanese Empire and the immigrants’ “invasion” of the West Coast made society as a whole fearful of “domination.”

A publication of the Vancouver’s 1908 *Westward Ho! Magazine* reads:

Japan is wide awake, with every nerve a-tingle; with its eyes steadfastly fixed on a fair horizon. Its policy has been decided on, its course, is mapped out, its mission is in the word of one of its greatest statesmen, ‘To lead Asia’... The ambition of Japan is to stand on international equality with the white races. It admits no point of inferiority, and is straining every nerve to gain and maintain its forces.⁵⁴

This publication is a particularly powerful expression of the fear of Japanese imperialism penetrating North America. The “fair horizon” to which Japan’s “eyes” are fixed suggests that Japan’s imperial ambitions were not contained to Asia and the South Pacific. The image of Japan “straining every nerve” to “gain and maintain its forces” paints the picture of Japan determined to extend its imperial grasp across the Pacific. In this manner, the rise of immigrants to British Columbia became equated with Japanese imperialism.⁵⁵ Japan’s ambition was to gain “international equality” with the “white races.” However, the remark that Japan “admit[ted]” no “point of inferiority” emphasizes that, regardless of its perceived militaristic and imperial “superiority,” Japan would always remain racially “inferior” to the West.

⁵¹ Robinson, *A Tragedy of Democracy*, 15.

⁵² Razack, ed. *Race, Space, and the Law*, 4, quoted in Taylor et al., “Who Belongs?”, 158.

⁵³ Taylor, et al., “Who Belongs?”, 158.

⁵⁴ “Asiatic Question,” *Westward Ho! Magazine* 2, no. 3 (March 1908): 2, quoted in Ward, *White Canada Forever*, 99.

⁵⁵ Price, *Orienting Canada*, 19.

To quell the racial hostilities that erupted, Labor Minister Rodolphe Lemieux met with Japanese Prime Minister Hayashi in Tokyo to negotiate a restriction on immigration to Canada. The resulting, Hayashi-Lemieux “Gentlemen’s Agreement,” established in 1908, limited emigration to approximately four hundred Japanese laborers per year.⁵⁶ However, under the provisions of the agreement, wives of Japanese male immigrants who had already established a residence in Canada would be permitted entry.⁵⁷ Subsequently, tens of thousands of female emigrants known as “picture brides” began arriving in North America.⁵⁸ After a simple exchange of photos, the couple would agree to be married. In some cases, the men returned to Japan to marry. However, often time the marriage was registered in the village records, and nuptials were carried out in the absence of the husband.⁵⁹ The Japanese government emphasized that permitting female emigrants to join male laborers in Canada and the United States would promote “family reunification, ‘family values,’ and a settled family life among its emigrants.”⁶⁰ Consequently, the Japanese government hoped this would challenge the notion that Japanese immigrants were “sojourners” who lacked “commitment” to life in their new host countries. By 1911, the population of Japanese Canadians had grown to 8,587, which was nearly double that of 1901.⁶¹ By 1921, the population reached approximately 15,006.⁶²

⁵⁶ Audrey Kobayashi and Midge Ayukawa, “Japanese Canadians.” *Encyclopedia of Japanese Descendants in the Americas: an Illustrated History of the Nikkei*, ed. Akemi Kikumura-Yano (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira, 2002), 149.

⁵⁷ Robinson, *A Tragedy of Democracy*, 16.

⁵⁸ See Midge Ayukawa, “Good Wives and Wise Mothers: Japanese Picture Brides in Early Twentieth-Century British Columbia,” *BC Studies, Women’s History and Gender Studies*, no. 105-106 (Spring/Summer 1995): 103-118.

⁵⁹ Midge Ayukawa, email message to author, May 4, 2011.

⁶⁰ Fiset and Nomura, introduction to *Nikkei in the Pacific Northwest*, 6.

⁶¹ See Appendix B, Japanese Population in British Columbia from 1901-1941.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 7.



Figure 1.4. Shizuo and Natsue Ayukawa. *Source:* Ayukawa family.

In 1917, my great-grandfather Shizuo Ayukawa left behind his life in Kagoshima, Japan and embarked on a journey across the Pacific. At the young age of seventeen, he was eager to embrace new opportunities in the Canadian “frontier.” Because many came as farmworkers or fishermen, it was common for Japanese immigrants to find work either farming in rural districts or working on fishing boats or in fish canneries along the West Coast.⁶³ Upon arrival, Shizuo worked as a ship carpenter at Matsumoto Boatworks in Steveston, a small fishing village near Vancouver. Like many young “pioneers,” my great-grandfather most likely came as a *dekasegi*, or “sojourner,” seeking financial opportunity, yet intending to return home. As did many *dekasegi*, he established himself in a community comprised predominantly of Japanese immigrants. To avoid discrimination and maximize opportunity for finding work, many immigrants “sought out their countrymen.”⁶⁴ In particular, Powell Street, or “Little Tokyo,” became a significant location for the development of the growing Japanese “sojourner society” in Vancouver.⁶⁵

⁶³ Robinson, *A Tragedy of Democracy*, 9.

⁶⁴ Ken Adachi, *The Enemy That Never Was*, 34.

⁶⁵ Ayukawa, *Hiroshima Immigrants in Canada*, 23.

Because the lives of the *Issei* remained quite private, some degree of uncertainty will always remain surrounding the story of my great-grandparents. Members in my family often debate whether my great-grandmother Natsue Aihoshi *nee* Ayukawa was, in fact, a picture bride. Following my great-grandfather's arrival, he returned to Japan to meet Natsue for the first time. Shizuo and Natsue remained in Kagoshima for only one month so that my great-grandfather would not be conscripted into the Japanese armed forces. They were married on February 29, 1928 and soon returned to Canada to begin a new life together. As documented in Library and Archives Canada, my great-grandfather returned with my great-grandmother aboard the *Empress of Asia* on April 15, 1928.

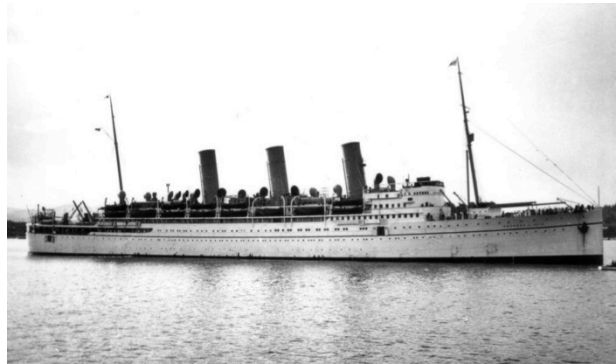


Figure 1.5. Empress of Asia, the ship Natsue and Shizuo Ayukawa boarded to Canada. *Source:* Empress of Asia Research Group.

At twenty-one years of age, my great-grandmother left behind all she had ever known in Kagoshima for a new life in Canada. Though I have no way of knowing if she chose this path, I do know that such risk took a tremendous amount of courage and perseverance.

Defining a Transnational Community

Before examining the nature of the communities established by *Issei* pioneers, it is important to understand the fundamental characteristics of a transnational community.

According to Basch, et al., transnationalism can be defined as:

the process by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement... Many immigrants today build social fields that cross geographic, cultural and political borders.⁶⁶

Individuals who construct these “social fields” are known as “transmigrants.” Transmigrants “develop and maintain multiple relationships—familial, economic, social, organizational, religious, and political—that span borders.” Furthermore, they “take actions, make decisions, and develop subjectivities and identities embedded in networks of relationships that connect them simultaneously to two or more nation-states.”⁶⁷ This network of relationships created by transnational ethnic communities can also be thought of as being “triadic.”⁶⁸ In addition to immigrants’ home and host countries, immigrants may also develop relationships to other “globally dispersed but collectively self-identified” ethnic groups.⁶⁹

Upon arrival, immigrants typically forge connections between their societies of origin and those of settlement. However, if an immigrant population experiences racism or social exclusion, it is more likely to resist assimilation and retain its ancestral origin identities as a means of seeking “social and psychological protection” within its ethnic community.⁷⁰ In

⁶⁶ Linda Basch, Nina Glick Schiller, and Christine Szanton Blanc, *Nations Unbound: Transnational Projects Postcolonial Predicaments and Deterritorialized Nation-states* (Amsterdam: Gordon and Breach, 1994), 7, quoted in Satzewich and Liidakis, ‘Race’ & Ethnicity, 274.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Philip Vertovec, “Conceiving and Researching Transnationalism,” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 22, no. 2 (1999): 445, quoted in Satzewich and Liidakis, ‘Race’ & Ethnicity, 274.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Satzewich and Liidakis, ‘Race’ & Ethnicity, 275-276.

effect, ethnic identity is largely determined by the sense of belonging within these constructed “social fields.” The experience of the Japanese Canadians “transmigrants” in British Columbia embodies the construction of a transnational ethnic community. Japanese immigrant families initially maintained a distinct ethnic identity. Their separation from mainstream society resulted not only from the *Issei*’s desire to retain ties to their ancestral homeland and preserve their native culture and language, but also from their treatment as a racialized Other by much of white British Columbian society.

In this manner, there were both internal and external forces at work. According to Evelyn Kallen, ethnic identity is an “outcome... of the interrelationship between the diachronic and synchronic dimensions of ethnicity.”⁷¹ Whereas diachronic dimensions of ethnicity include the “core” of one’s identity, including ancestry, homeland and culture, synchronic dimensions refer to the ways in which an individual or ethnic collectivity is “defined, evaluated and treated by others.” Thus, the formation of an ethnic identity is a “reciprocal process” that depends not only on the reproduction of core components in a distinct time and place, but also on the “social construction” of ethnicity by external actors.⁷² The experience of the Ayukawa family in British Columbia sheds light on the unique transnational communities forged by the *Issei* “pioneers.”

A Portrait of Japanese Canadian Farming Communities

Like my great-grandparents, many Japanese immigrants began raising families in British Columbia and consequently ushered in an age of more permanent settlement.⁷³

⁷¹ Evelyn Kallen, *Ethnicity and Human Rights in Canada*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1995), 83-84, quoted in Vic and Liouakis, ‘Race’ & Ethnicity, 143.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Midge Ayukawa, “Good Wives and Wise Mothers,” 107.

Although they faced extreme racism and isolation, immigrant laborers were, to some extent, able to achieve mobility. Though most male immigrants initially worked in the fishing, lumber, railroad and mining industries, word soon spread of opportunities for farming.⁷⁴ Jiro Inouye is regarded as a “pioneer farmer” who encouraged other Japanese farmers to “acquire land and make [their] own living rather than depend on non-Japanese for jobs.”⁷⁵ After several years of savings, many immigrant laborers could afford to lease or even purchase agricultural land.⁷⁶ In fact, by 1934, my great-grandparents saved enough of their earnings to purchase a nine-acre property in Mission, B.C. By contrast to the United States, which established alien land laws denying Japanese Americans the right to land ownership, Canada permitted *Issei*, regardless of their status as British subjects, to purchase their own farmland. Although British Columbian exclusionists sought to implement alien land laws similar to those in the United States, pressure from London to uphold the Anglo-Japanese Alliance prohibited the existence of such a law.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ Anne Doré, “Transnational Communities: Japanese Canadians of the Fraser Valley, 1904-1942,” *BC Studies: The British Columbian Quarterly* 134 (2002): 42.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Robinson, *Tragedy of Democracy*, 10.

⁷⁷ Fiset and Nomura, introduction to *Nikkei in the Pacific Northwest*, 7.



Figure 1.6. The Ayukawa Family, August 15, 1936. *Source:* Ayukawa family.
Left, Grandmother Ryuko Mori nee Ayukawa.

In Meiji Japan, farming was regarded as a particularly honorable occupation.⁷⁸ By applying many of the drainage and fertilization techniques employed in rural Japan, many *Issei* were quite successful at farming marginal land. Together with their families, many Japanese immigrant families grew crops such as strawberries, which white farmers were often reluctant to grow due to the intensive physical labor required.⁷⁹ *Issei* often relied upon their young *Nisei* children to support the family farm. My great-grandparents followed this trend and remained in Mission, raising their family and working on their berry farm until the outbreak of the war. As the eldest in her family, my grandmother, Ryuko Mori nee Ayukawa, was responsible not only for raising her younger siblings, but also carrying out much of the intense labor in the fields each day.

The Ayukawa family's experience in Mission is reflective of the "unique transnational farming communities" formed by Japanese Canadians who settled in British Columbia's Fraser Valley. Along with 111 other families who settled in Mission by 1942,

⁷⁸ Doré, "Transnational Communities," 43.

⁷⁹ Robinson, *A Tragedy of Democracy*, 10.

the Ayukawa family had an “inland, rural experience,” which was distinct from the coastal Japanese Canadian experience in many of the fishing communities.⁸⁰ Their story embodies many of the ideas Ann Doré explores in her study of Japanese Canadian farming communities in the Fraser Valley. As Doré explains:

Farming not only distanced Japanese Canadians from the frustrations of the mainstream but it also allowed them to construct their communities in the tradition of the Japanese farming village, based on the cooperative spirit of the Japanese, who came together to support each other and to work for the common good.⁸¹

In “distancing” themselves from these “mainstream frustrations,” the rural Japanese Canadian communities were often far removed from outbreaks of racial hatred such as that which occurred in “Little Tokyo” during the Vancouver Riots of 1907.⁸² Moreover, the Japanese Canadian families dispersed throughout the Fraser Valley were not perceived as directly threatening the jobs of the mainstream Anglo-community. Unlike the *Issei* on the West Coast who competed for jobs in the fishing industry, those in farming communities often purchased undesirable land. During the period of 1904-1942, Japanese Canadian families in the Fraser Valley cleared thousands of acres of “wasteland” and transformed it into “fertile and productive farm lands.”⁸³ By 1934, Japanese Canadians were responsible for approximately 85 percent of the Fraser Valley berry industry, which was crucial not only for local exports, but for those out of the province and nation, as well.⁸⁴ It was clear by this time that Japanese Canadian communities were an integral part not only of the food production system in British Columbia, but of the Canadian economy at large.⁸⁵

⁸⁰ Doré, “Transnational Communities,” 43.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Ibid., 44.

⁸³ Ibid., 45.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 46.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 56.

As Doré's research further reveals, racialization was a "dynamic force" in "shaping, strengthening, and sustaining" these transnational communities.⁸⁶ Interestingly, she posits that the racialization imposed by the dominant Anglo-Canadian community was, in turn, used by the Japanese Canadian community to "strengthen its solidarity" and to "improve its image within the broader community."⁸⁷ In this context, the negative constructions of the dominant group and positive construction of the racialized minority made up a "dynamic recursive process." According to Doré, the *Issei* in the Fraser Valley communities did not seek interiorization, or "full inclusion in mainstream Canadian society." As she argues, internal or "self-racialization" led the *Issei* to embrace their unique Japanese values and traditions, many of which were influenced by Buddhist, Confucian, and Shinto teachings. Such values include "respect for authority, highly structured family and community life, and dedication to hard work and frugality." Many of the values of Meiji Japan and ancient *samurai* traditions still held true—among them, the importance of the patriarch in the family and collectivity over individuality.⁸⁸ The nature of the transnational community, thus, allowed *Issei* to maintain the "essence of their culture" and language within a close-knit community structure.⁸⁹ In this manner, Doré posits that "[r]ural life offered the best opportunity for preserving ethnic identity and solidarity while assuring minimal outside interference and minimal cultural assimilation."⁹⁰

⁸⁶ Doré, "Transnational Communities," 35.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 37.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 40.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 38.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

Japanese Canadian communities in the Fraser Valley were transnational in nature because they embodied “solidaristic [communities] in the host country.”⁹¹ These groups often utilize their shared interests and values to “strengthen their solidarity beyond national borders.”⁹² Maintaining bonds with one’s homeland can take the form of remittances, visiting back and forth, or even sending children back for education. The new transnational space that results is, thus, a hybrid of the home and host countries. As Doré argues, the transnational communities in the Fraser Valley were “neither fully Japanese nor fully Canadian,” but instead, “a unique blend of both.”⁹³

Upon arrival in British Columbia, Japanese immigrants began forming ethnic institutions to maintain ties to their homeland.⁹⁴ For instance, immigrants developed branches of the Japanese Association (Nihonjinkai) and the Canadian Japanese Association, established Japanese-language newspapers, and created Shinto and Buddhist congregations. The Japanese government also fostered the connection of ties to Japan by establishing a network of consulates in Canada to assist and protect emigrant communities.⁹⁵ For instance, due to the “increasingly hostile reception immigrants received abroad” and British Columbia’s attempt to restrict immigration, Japan maintained a consulate in Vancouver.⁹⁶ Moreover, these inland farming communities often maintained institutions that encouraged the preservation of Japanese language and culture.⁹⁷ For instance, the Japanese language school played an important role in passing on proficiency in Japanese to the next generation, the *Nisei*. Many *Issei* lacked fluency in English and, thus, Japanese was most often spoken in

⁹¹ William Alonso, “Citizenship, Nationality and Other Identities,” *Journal of International Affairs* 48, no. 2 (Winter 1995): 595, quoted in Doré, “Transnational Communities,” 38.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Doré, “Transnational Communities,” 38.

⁹⁴ Robinson, *A Tragedy of Democracy*, 10.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ David Sulz, “Transitional Relations,” 46.

⁹⁷ Doré, “Transnational Communities,” 48.

the home. Interestingly, Doré's study cites the kindergarten established by the Barnett family, which provided English lessons for young *Nisei*. The Barnetts were close family friends of the Ayukawa family, and their loyalty would continue on throughout the internment years.



Figure 1.7. Mr. and Mrs. Barnett. *Source:* Ayukawa family.



Figure 1.8. Mrs. Barnett and children. *Source:* Ayukawa family.

At the heart of the Japanese Canadian farming communities was the *Nōkai*, an “agricultural society.” The *Nōkai* hall in Mission took on a central role in the farming community, both economically and socially. Not only did it serve as a grower cooperative where farmers could do everything from regulate berry prices to rent equipment, but it also served as a social institution where members of the Japanese Canadian community attended Japanese language classes and Buddhist services.⁹⁸ The transnational nature of the prewar farming communities was, thus, largely shaped by the *Nōkai*, which helped maintain Japanese cultural traditions among the *Issei* and *Nisei*. The *Nōkai* is reflective of ethnic institutions as important social spaces where ethnic identity is “produced and maintained

⁹⁸ Doré, “Transnational Communities,” 50.

over time.”⁹⁹ It also became an important social service agency, providing an outlet aside from government relief for Japanese Canadians who were struggling financially. Despite the depression in 1934, the Japanese Canadians constituted less than one-third of the percentage of groups on government relief.¹⁰⁰ They maintained a sense of self-sufficiency, which allowed them to resist significant interference by mainstream Anglo-Canadian society.

In this manner, it may appear that such institutions “locked” transnational communities away from mainstream society. However, in some instances, the *Nōkai* hall actually served as a bridge to Anglo society—a place where the community could gather for special events, school graduations, and even concerts for Mrs. Barnett’s kindergarten class. In fact, the greatest instance of collaboration between the Japanese Canadian community and Anglo-Canadian society was evident in the existence of farm cooperatives. The Pacific Cooperative Union is one such example of mutual cooperation between the often-isolated transnational community of the Japanese Canadians and dominant Anglo-Canadian community.

Theories of Japanese Superiority

Anne Doré contentiously argues that it seems “highly likely” Japanese Canadian “pride and feelings of superiority” limited their desire to assimilate into mainstream Canadian society.¹⁰¹ She also posits that beliefs in Japanese superiority served as a means of empowerment for their own communities. These claims, however, actually reproduce historical inaccuracies of the Japanese immigrant experiences. I would argue that the “solidaristic” nature of prewar transnational communities was not a product of Japanese

⁹⁹ Satzewich and Lioudakis, *Race’ & Ethnicity*, 143.

¹⁰⁰ Doré, “Transnational Communities,” 52-53.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 41.

superiority, but rather a reaction to their racial subordination by the dominant Anglo community. Japanese immigrant families created transnational communities as safe havens, which offered protection from the often-hospitable environments in which they lived. Maintaining a close-knit community structure allowed immigrant families to retain a sense of self-worth and economic independence, while preserving important cultural values and traditions.

Eiichio Azuma's analysis of the "*Issei* pioneer thesis" offers a useful lens through which one can understand the predicament of Japanese immigrants. Though it is set in the context of the Japanese American experience, such analysis can be extended to that of the Japanese Canadians. The *Issei* pioneer thesis was a "systematic discourse" created during the 1920s and 1930s by Japanese immigrant historians in America to contest the discriminatory treatment they faced upon arrival. Two Japanese immigrants in California, Toga Yoichi and Fujioka Shiro, spearheaded the movement. While Toga asserted Japanese immigrants' "compatibility with, and placement within" Anglo-American society, Fujioka coined the *Issei* as "pioneers of Japanese development."¹⁰²

The following cartoon, published in San Francisco in 1921, sheds light on the immigrant's "crisis of racial subordination."¹⁰³ On the laborer's back is a heavy weight, labeled "exclusion." The message, which reads, "Be patient and do your best, some day you will win," suggests that, with determination and a strong work ethic, Japanese immigrants would eventually achieve mobility and success in America.

¹⁰² Eiichio Azuma, "The Politics of Transnational History Making: Japanese Immigrants on the Western 'Frontier,' 1927–1941," *The Journal of American History* 89, no. 4 (March 2003): 1401–1405.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 1402.



Figure 1.9. Portrayal of the *Issei* Pioneer. Source: Reprinted from Shin Sekai (*New World*, San Francisco), Jan. 21, 1921, in Azuma, “Politics of Transnational History Making.”

Due to the heavy weight of exclusion, *Issei* historians often felt compelled to reinvent their identity “as concomitantly American frontiersmen and Japanese colonists/colonialists.” Such identity would, thus, be acceptable to both their home and host countries. *Issei* historians depicted their experience in the Western “frontier” and emphasized the crucial role they played in “conquering” and increasing the productivity of the “untamed” land along the Pacific coast.¹⁰⁴ The *Issei* pioneer thesis, in this manner, provided an opportunity for Japanese immigrants to rewrite the dominant historical narrative and challenge their subordination by white Americans.¹⁰⁵ Writings from the *Issei* pioneer thesis also included assertions that Japan was “racially endowed” for expansion in search of “new Japans” overseas.¹⁰⁶ Although these bold claims appear to be portrayals of Japanese superiority over mainstream Anglo society, they were more an attempt to contest the dominant historical

¹⁰⁴ Azuma, “Politics of Transnational History,” 1406.

¹⁰⁵ In analyzing this image, it is also important to contextualize it within the greater historical scheme of events. Just two years before this cartoon was published in San Francisco, Japan submitted its Racial Equality Proposal at the Paris Peace Conference, which was subsequently rejected by both the U.S. and Britain. At this time, anti-Japanese sentiment pervaded the West Coast. The United States’ implementation of the Immigration Act of 1924 essentially halted Japanese immigration.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 1407.

narrative than an actual assertion of immigrant feelings of superiority. In this way, the formation of *Issei* identity can be understood as a response to the refusal by the West of the Other.

As Azuma points out, both Japanese imperialists and American exclusionists “manipulat[ed] and misinterpret[ed]” the *Issei* pioneer thesis’ celebration of “development” on the Western “frontier.” The Japanese Empire utilized the *Issei*’s writing to support anti-West ideology and “shor[e] up on its aggressive expansionist policy in the Asia and the Pacific.” Likewise, white Americans used the thesis as evidence that Japanese immigrants were “subversive and conspiratorial.”¹⁰⁷ The following cartoon, printed by a Japanese magazine in 1933, portrays the Japanese Empire’s assertion of racial dominance over westerners.¹⁰⁸



Figure 1.10. Portrayal of the *Issei* Pioneer. *Source*: Reprinted from Kingu (*King*), Tokyo, Oct. 1933, in Azuma, “Politics of Transnational History Making.”

¹⁰⁷ Azuma, “Politics of Transnational History,” 1422.

¹⁰⁸ In 1933, the year of this cartoon’s publishing in Tokyo, Japan was near the height of its imperial conquest. After conquering Manchuria in 1931 and establishing a puppet regime in Manchukuo in 1933, Japan proceeded to invade China in 1937.

This appropriation, as Azuma points out, “reveals the gap between the perceptions of *Issei* and those of people in Japan,” as well as the “political utility of the ‘Issei pioneer thesis’ for Japan’s imperialist agenda.” In this manner, Japanese immigrants became pawns of both the Japanese Empire and the Canadian nation state.

Sentiments of Japanese superiority projected by Japan for its own imperial ambition must, consequently, not be projected onto the immigrant experience. To claim that the solidaristic nature of Japanese transnational communities in the United States and Canada was a result of immigrant feelings of superiority is a skewed representation of the *Issei*’s experiences. It is nearly impossible to determine whether the nature of these transnational communities was a defense mechanism to the exclusion they faced or a projection of Japanese colonial discourse onto the immigrants themselves. However, I posit that the majority of immigrants, like my great-grandparents, had no intention of projecting ideas of superiority in their new host countries. The story of the Ayukawa family in Mission, B.C. is not one of dominance or triumph over their Anglo community. Rather, their experience is reflective of many immigrants’ desires for the “peaceful preservation” of their community and coexistence with their Anglo neighbors.¹⁰⁹

Azuma’s research on the *Issei* pioneer thesis highlights the “binational” or “dual” nature of Japanese immigrant experiences.¹¹⁰ Japanese American experiences—and, to extend his argument, Japanese Canadians—must not be perceived “from the standpoint of polarized national/cultural identities and allegiances.” The “Japan-versus-America binary”—and, likewise, the Japan-versus-Canada binary—“obfuscate[s] the complexities and nuances

¹⁰⁹ Doré, “Transnational Communities,” 53.

¹¹⁰ Azuma, “Politics of Transnational History,” 1404.

of this ‘borderland minority.’”¹¹¹ In this manner, the Japanese transnational communities in the American and Canadian “frontier” were founded in a borderland—a space caught in the midst of national and racial contestation. The transnational community in Mission, B.C. where the Ayukawa family lived until the outbreak of the war cannot be labeled as solely “Japanese” or “Canadian.” It was a unique hybrid of both. Likewise, it is important to recognize the *Issei* were caught in a borderland between two dominant discourses—one of imperialism projected from Japan and another of exclusion projected from the West. Their identities, thus, existed in a liminal space—not quite Japanese, yet not quite Canadian.

Fear of Assimilation and Racial Mixing

Despite the hybrid nature of these transnational communities, the majority of Anglo-Canadian society believed that Japanese immigrants, like all Asians, were “inassimilable.”

As Patricia Roy explains:

Like most anti-Asian arguments, the catch-all term “inassimilability” was, as a contemporary noted, often an “irrational and blindly jingoistic” expression of racial prejudice. It had several intertwined manifestations and was neither consistently nor clearly defined nor free of paradox. It was an abstract concept but usually appeared in concrete situations.¹¹²

Roy further argues that the notion of inassimilability was, in some instances, socially constructed, while, in others, biologically constructed. One remark in a 1919 publication of Vancouver’s *Critic* is particularly telling: “We must have a white man’s country and now is the time to start making it so. The Asiatics, no matter how good they are, cannot assimilate with us. Our mode of living, temperament, and ideals are all different and we could never be

¹¹¹ Azuma, “Politics of Transnational History,” 1404.

¹¹² Roy, *The Oriental Question*, 26.

welded together.”¹¹³ This concept of not being “welded together” suggests the inevitable incompatibility between white Canadians and the Oriental Other. While many Anglo-Canadians believed immigrants’ habits, morals, and standards of living made them *socially* inassimilable, others also opposed the intermixing of the “white” and “yellow” races.

This notion of *biological* inassimilability was apparent in arguments against intermarriage between Japanese immigrants and Anglo-Canadians. Prime Minister Mackenzie King’s once remarked that “[Canadians] cannot intermingle physically on any wholesale or unlimited scale without mutual misfortune.”¹¹⁴ Many white British Columbians, likewise, believed that miscegenation would lead to the “deterioration” of the “white race” and that interracial contact would be a threat to the “purity” of the Canadian nation.

The idea of “race degeneration” in British Columbia was largely influenced by the “scientific” “findings” or claims of Western race theorists in the late 19th century and early 20th century. Even before Japanese emigration began, the concept of racial mixing was seen as “biologically” unfavorable. In 1892, evolutionary biologist and philosopher Herbert Spencer corresponded with Japanese leaders and intellectuals regarding the problem of intermarriage between Japanese and Westerners living in Japan. He believed “that Japanese policy should... be that of keeping American and Europeans as much as possible at arm’s length.”¹¹⁵ Furthermore, he remarked:

¹¹³ *Vancouver Critic*, May 3, 1919, quoted in Roy, *The Oriental Question*, 26.

¹¹⁴ E.P. Bell, *Pillars of World Peace: Mackenzie King, Prime Minister of Canada, Discusses the Problem of the Pacific and Gives a Formula for International Good Relations* (Chicago: The Chicago Daily News, 1925), quoted in Roy, *The Oriental Question*, 26.

¹¹⁵ Kenneth Pyle, *The New Generation in Meiji Japan: Problems of Cultural Identity 1885-1895* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1969), 110, quoted in Gary P. Leupp, *Interracial Intimacy in Japan: Western Men and Japanese Women, 1543-1900* (London: Continuum, 2003), 183.

...Respecting the intermarriage of foreigners and Japanese... it should be positively forbidden... There is abundant proof, alike furnished by the intermarriages of human races and by the interbreeding of animals, that when the varieties mingled diverge beyond a certain slight degree *the result is inevitably a bad one* in the long run.¹¹⁶

Spencer continues his discussion of interbreeding animals, citing the “incalculable mixture of traits,” and “what may be called a chaotic constitution” that arises from various breeds of cattle and sheep. He argues that the “same thing” happens among human beings, as evident from the “Eurasians in India” and “half-breeds in America.” Furthermore, Spencer remarks that the “constitution” that results from the mixing of two “widely divergent varieties” is “adapted to the mode of life of neither.”¹¹⁷ In this manner, he suggests that intermarriage would pose serious threats not only to the West, but to Japan, as well. Mixed-raced individuals would forever be “inassimilable,” and, thus, a burden to society.

These ideas of “biological” “inassimilability” were imbedded in the works of two American eugenicists, Madison Grant and Lothrop Stoddard. This Western eugenic ideology was particularly influential in shaping white British Columbians’ perceptions of Japanese immigrants. In *The Passing of the Great Race* (1916), Grant argues that when “two distinct species are located side by side,” either one race drives the other out or they amalgamate to “form a population of race bastards in which the lower type ultimately preponderate.”¹¹⁸ Likewise, editorials in the *Vancouver Sun* posited that the marriage of Japanese and whites would produce a “half-caste,” which, with few exceptions, would inherit the “bad qualities of

¹¹⁶ David Duncan, ed., *Life and Letters of Herbert Spencer* (London: Methuen, 1908), vol. 2, 14-18, quoted in Leupp, *Interracial Intimacy in Japan*, 183.

¹¹⁷ David Duncan, ed., *Life and Letters of Herbert Spencer* (London: Methuen, 1908), vol. 2, 322, quoted in Leupp, *Interracial Intimacy in Japan*, 183.

¹¹⁸ Madison Grant, *The Passing of the Great Race* (New York: Scribner, 1916), 69, quoted in Roy, *The Oriental Question*, 32.

both races.”¹¹⁹ Many argued that because “white and yellow races” could not properly mix, there were “biological” reasons to restrict the rising immigration from Japan and China. At this time, fear of the “Yellow Peril” was at its height, and dominant Anglo society believed “yellow” immigrants would “contaminate” British Columbia’s Anglo-conformist society.

This theory of inassimilability was not only utilized as a deterrent for immigration, but also as a basis to prevent the “mixing” of Japanese immigrants in North America with individuals of the Caucasian race. Although the Japanese were initially perceived as the highest of the “Mongoloid” race and whitest of the “colored” people, in a way, they could never be “white” enough.¹²⁰ Racial discrimination intensified as immigration peaked on the U.S. and Canadian West Coast, prompting escalating fears of a “Yellow Peril.”¹²¹ In fact, Japanese-Caucasian marriage was so controversial in the United States that it led California to amend an existing miscegenation law in 1905 to specifically criminalize or void any marriage between a Caucasian and “Mongolian.” Though it did not specifically single out any particular ethnic group, this law was understood to be a direct act of discrimination against the Japanese.¹²² By 1910, there were fewer than a hundred marriages recorded between Japanese and Anglo-Americans. Nonetheless, these couples faced extreme discrimination. In the words of one white California landowner:

Near my home is an 80 acre tract of as fine land as there is in California. On that land lives a Japanese [man]. With that Japanese lives a white woman. In that woman’s arms is a baby. What is that baby? It isn’t Japanese. It isn’t white. I’ll tell you what it is. It is the germ of the

¹¹⁹ *Vancouver Sun*, May 10 1922, quoted in Roy, *The Oriental Question*, 33.

¹²⁰ Leupp, *Interracial Intimacy in Japan*, 160.

¹²¹ The term “Yellow Peril” was initially used in response to the “influx” of Chinese immigrants, yet its usage shifted towards Japanese immigrants as Japan rose to imperial dominance.

¹²² Leupp, *Interracial Intimacy in Japan*, 216.

mightiest problem that ever faced this state: a problem that will make the black problem of the south look white.¹²³

The rising number of immigrants only amplified fears of the Japanese “contaminating” the “Caucasian race.” The Immigration Act of 1924, also referred to as the Asian Exclusion Act, essentially barred all Japanese emigrants from entry into the United States and was largely based on fears of “Caucasian-Mongoloid miscegenation.” If the number of Japanese immigrants continued to rise, many feared the existence of “half-breeds”—in addition to the very presence of Asian emigrants— would disrupt the “purity” of the nation. In the words of one California resident, Montaville Flowers, by 2040 “we will have a pigmented population of not less than 200,000,000 people, half of them African, the other half Asiatic.”¹²⁴ The image of a “pigmented” population is one that appears to be contaminated, as if by a plague. In this context, the plague was the “infiltration” of Japanese immigrants who threatened the “purity” of the Anglo-conformist model in North America.

Thus, the perception of Japanese immigrants’ assimilability from the standpoint of those on the West Coast was quite clear: they were incapable of integrating into society, both socially and “biologically.” The subordination of Japanese immigrants in Canada due to their perceived “inassimilability” and racial “otherness” set the stage for an intensification of tension upon the outbreak of World War II. The ideology that Japanese immigrants and their families were incapable of integrating into the fabric of mainstream life in Canada was used as a justification for the belief that any individual of Japanese descent was, in fact, an “enemy alien.” The following chapter will explore the destruction of the Japanese transnational community in Canada and will provide a framework for understanding the relatively fast

¹²³ H.A. Millis, *The Japanese Problem in the United States* (New York: Arno Press, 1978), 273, quoted in Leupp, *Interracial Intimacy in Japan*, 216.

¹²⁴ Montaville Flowers, *The Japanese Conquest of American Public Opinion* (1917; New York: Arno Press, 1978), 1, quoted in Leupp, *Interracial Intimacy in Japan*, 216.

transformation of the Japanese Canadians from “inassimilable” to highly assimilated members of Canadian society.

Chapter 2: The Destruction of a Transnational Community

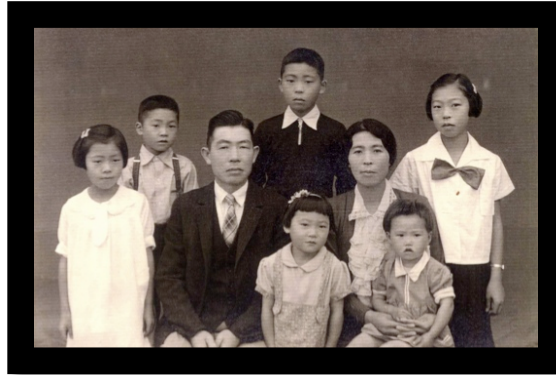


Figure 2.1. The Ayukawa Family, 1940.
Source: Ayukawa family.

This portrait of the Ayukawa family taken in 1940 is the last photograph taken before they were deemed “enemies” by the Canadian government. Although intense anti-Japanese sentiment existed well before December 7, 1941, the aftermath of the attacks on Pearl Harbor represented the culmination of nearly half a century of racial tension. Pearl Harbor marked the first page in a new chapter for thousands of Japanese Americans and Japanese Canadians. It was a day that changed everything—a day, as coined by President Roosevelt— “which [would] live in infamy.” One day following the attack, FDR declared war against Japan.¹²⁵ Canada, already at war with Germany, was, likewise, outraged and proceeded to declare war on the Japanese Empire.¹²⁶ In considering Canada’s hostile reaction to Japan, it is important to acknowledge Canada’s identity as a dominion of Britain. In particular, the December 7 attack on Hong Kong, a British territory, was perceived as “a threat to the defense and

¹²⁵ Robinson, *A Tragedy of Democracy*, 63.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

freedom of Canada.”¹²⁷ From this day forward, individuals of Japanese origin, regardless of their citizenship, were seen as belonging to a dangerous imperial power.¹²⁸

Though long ostracized from mainstream society, Japanese Canadians were marked by this event: changed from an “inassimilable” Other to “enemy aliens.” At the time of Japan’s attack, the majority of Japanese Canadians resided in British Columbia. The Japanese-Canadian community comprised 25.2 percent Japanese nationals, 14.6 percent naturalized Canadians, and 60.4 Canadian-born. Nonetheless, all were treated equally — as enemy aliens.¹²⁹ The visible concentration of over 21,000 Japanese Canadians in one area even further compounded their racial “otherness.”¹³⁰ As Aya Fujiawara explains, the dividing line from mainstream Canada was particularly “persistent” for Japanese Canadians in comparison to other minorities because they were “racially visible.” Their non-Christian culture and traditions even further exacerbated their inassimilability.¹³¹ In this manner, the discriminatory action taken post-Pearl Harbor can be seen as a “logical extension” of a fifty-year history of racial discrimination.¹³² However “logical” it may have been to Canadian officials, it nonetheless surfaced as a “massive earthquake” that shattered the Japanese-Canadian community and “tore it asunder, never again to be restored to its dynamic state.”¹³³

¹²⁷ Ann Gomer Sunahara, *The Politics of Racism: the Uprooting of Japanese Canadians during the Second World War* (Toronto: Lorimer, 1981), 27.

¹²⁸ Aya Fujiwara, *Ethnic Elites and Canadian Identity: Japanese, Ukrainians, and Scots, 1919-1971* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2012), 79.

¹²⁹ Midge Ayukawa, “From Japs to Japanese Canadians to Canadians,” *Journal of the West*, 38, no. 3 (1999): 44.

¹³⁰ Fujiwara, *Ethnic Elites*, 6.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*

¹³² Audrey Kobayashi, “The Historical Context for Japanese-Canadian Uprooting,” in *Social Change and Space: Indigenous Nations and Ethnic Communities in Canada and Finland*, ed. Ludger Müller-Wille (Montreal: Northern Studies Program, McGill University, 1989), 70, quoted in Mona Oikawa, *Cartographies of Violence: Women, Memory, and the Subjects of Internment* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011), 111.

¹³³ Ayukawa, “Japs to Canadians,” 44.

My family, like thousands of other Japanese Canadians, was perceived as inextricably tied to Japan. As Pamela Sugiman, a Japanese Canadian *Sansei*, argues, “Government wartime policy was legitimated by the belief that, despite time spent in this country, those of the ‘Japanese race’ were fundamentally loyal to the Emperor of Japan, and by virtue of the phenotypical traits and kinship ties, disloyal to Canada.”¹³⁴ Though my great-grandfather may have initially come to Canada as a “sojourner” searching for opportunity yet intending to return home, my family no longer intended to return. Home, in fact, was not Japan. It was Canada. My great-grandmother at the age of twenty-one had left all she knew in Japan to start a family—to start her new life—with my great-grandfather. Though many *Issei* and *Nisei* rarely, if ever, returned to Japan, the Canadian government’s treatment of the Japanese Canadians was fuelled by extreme racial hostility, exacerbated by their “imagined transnational identities and allegiances.”¹³⁵ In this manner, the measures taken in the years following the attack on Pearl Harbor were dictated by anti-Japanese sentiment that existed long before the war began. As Sugiman explains, the notion that “transnational loyalties cross generations, override current citizenship, and eclipse fluid perceptions of homeland” became widespread. These notions clearly were not a reflection of reality, but rather an attempt of the Canadian government to rationalize and justify state actions.¹³⁶

The government’s decision to intern Japanese Canadians caused irreparable damage to the community. In the words of influential *Nisei* writer Muriel Kitagawa, the war “came

¹³⁴ Pamela Sugiman, “Unmaking a Transnational Community: Japanese Canadian Families in Wartime Canada,” in *Transnational Identities and Practices in Canada*, ed. Vic Satzewich and Lloyd Wong (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006), 53.

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

to tear out the roots of our lives.”¹³⁷ Kitagawa and her family were not alone. My family, too, learned firsthand what it felt like to lose their home, to be incarcerated within their own country, and to be cast by their own government as dangerous enemy aliens. Though many of my family members fell silent about the hardships they endured, I have come to learn that the internment years changed the course of their lives forever.

Prior to the internment, the Ayukawa family lived in Mission, British Columbia. It is where my grandmother, Ryuko Mori *nee* Ayukawa and six of her younger siblings were born. It is where my great-grandparents, Shizuo and Natsue, started their own berry farm after saving enough earnings to purchase a piece of land. It is where they worked tirelessly to build a life for their family they dreamed possible only in Canada. With the outbreak of the war, their home in Mission would soon become a distant memory.



Figure 2.2. The Ayukawa family home on Cherry Street, Mission, B.C. *Source:* Ayukawa family.

¹³⁷ Muriel Kitagawa, *This is My Own: Letters to Wes and other Writings on Japanese Canadians, 1941-1948* (Vancouver: Talonbooks, 1985), 220, quoted in Pamela Sugiman, “Unmaking a Transnational Community,” 53.



Figure 2.3. Ayukawa children in Mission.
Source: Ayukawa family.
Left to Right: Grandmother Ryuko,
 siblings Kaoru, Hiroko, Sumiko.



Figure 2.4. Ayukawa children, Noburo
 and Hiroko, outside their home on
 Cherry St. *Source:* Ayukawa family.

These snapshots of the Ayukawa children in Mission have been tucked away for many years. In fact, they were given to my great-aunt Ellen Kimura by one of her siblings still living in British Columbia who found them too difficult to look at. Perhaps these photos bring back memories not only of losing their home, but of all the stages of loss that were to follow. These snapshots are the only pictures that remain of the house on Cherry Street they were forced to leave behind in June of 1942. In both pictures, the physical structure of the home takes on a distinct role. It suggests not only the centrality of the home for the Ayukawa family, but also their sense of rootedness in Mission.

Through the stories of several *Nisei* in my family interwoven within the greater historical narrative, I hope to provide a glimpse into the reality of wartime internment camps. Though I do not seek to provide a comprehensive overview of the legal action taken by the Canadian government, nor do I attempt to capture the experience of the Japanese Canadian community in its entirety, I hope that shedding light on my family's experiences will give

voice to a period of their lives which was silenced for many years. The stories of my grandparents Ryuko Mori *nee* Ayukawa and Robert Mori, my great-aunt and great-uncle Ellen Kimura *nee* Ayukawa and Robert Kimura, and great-aunt Midge Ayukawa *nee* Ishii all provide intimate and raw accounts of their wartime experiences.¹³⁸ By sharing of each these individuals' stories, I hope to challenge the notion of the "singular" Japanese Canadian internment experience. Each of my family members represents a *particular* experience. Moreover, their varying ages and the different roles they assumed in their families offers insight into the wide range of experiences of *Nisei* during the war. Together, their stories create a composite picture of life in wartime Canada. Moreover, they shed light on the lasting impact that the internment has had on the greater Japanese Canadian community.

Though my grandmother Ryuko Mori is no longer here to share her story of the internment, the memory of her experiences live on not only through photographs, but also through others in my family who can speak to the adversity she faced as the eldest in her family and the resilience she demonstrated in rebuilding her life. Born January 1, 1929, my grandmother was thirteen when the Ayukawa family was uprooted and forced to leave behind their home in Mission. Over the next five years, she and her family were uprooted countless times—first to a holding facility at Hastings Park, then to New Denver, B.C., followed by the final internment camp, Tashme, B.C.

My grandfather Robert Mori, born on March 23, 1926 in Kitsilano, a town near Vancouver, B.C., was one of the small minority of Japanese Canadians who did not experience life in the internment camps. The Mori family, like 1,161 other Japanese Canadians, moved to the interior of British Columbia on their own financial resources and

¹³⁸ See Appendix C, Family tree.

lived in the “ghost towns” for the duration of the war. Like the Mori family, those who went to “self-supporting camps” outside the exclusion zone often leased farms. During these years, my great-grandfather Mori was sent away to a road camp.

Ellen Shizuko Kimura nee Ayukawa, youngest sister of my grandmother Ryuko, was born in Mission, B.C. on November 4, 1938. At the time the Ayukawa family moved to Hastings Park, my great-aunt was only four years old. Though her experiences are distinct from some of her older siblings, my great-aunt offered much insight into the lives of Japanese-Canadian children growing up in the internment camps amidst the outbreak of WWII.

My great-uncle, Robert Keisuke Kimura, was born on Feb 27, 1932 and lived on Powell Street, the “Little Tokyo” of Vancouver before being sent to Slocan internment camp twenty miles along the Slocan Lake from New Denver. At the time of internment, my great-uncle was ten years old. His experiences provide a particularly unique perspective on the internment experience, as his father was one of the few Japanese nationals sent away to a prisoner of war camp and consequently separated from his family for the duration of the war.

Finally, my great-aunt, Michiko “Midge” Ayukawa nee Ishii, was married to Kaoru Ayukawa, my grandmother’s brother and the eldest of the Ayukawa sons. Born on June 26, 1930, my great-aunt was twelve years old when she and her family were forced from their homes in Vancouver. For the duration of the war, they remained in Lemon Creek. In the post-internment years, she practiced as a chemist at the National Research Council in Ottawa, yet eventually decided to back west to reconnect with her Japanese roots and pursue a career as a historian. Her Ph.D dissertation, which she completed at the age of sixty-five at the University of Victoria, is now published as *Hiroshima Immigrants in Canada, 1891-1941*.

Midge is well known in the *Nikkei* community as a scholar of Japanese Canadian history. Throughout my thesis, I will reference many of her articles, in addition to her personal accounts to me.

The stories and snapshots of *Nisei* in my family provide a candid, first-hand account of the internment experience. Their recollections shed light on how the internment has been remembered almost seventy years later. Moreover, their experiences serve as a reminder that one cannot simply assume that all Japanese Canadians endured the same hardships. As my great-aunt Midge cautioned me, “[One] can consider the ‘group,’ but the people in it are individuals with different experiences, influences, and lives.”¹³⁹

The Decision to Intern

Even before the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7 of 1941, both American and Canadian officials outlined various measures that would be taken in the case of war with Japan.¹⁴⁰ The United States, sensing a possible Japanese “invasion” of Hawaii, began drafting plans as early as the 1920s.¹⁴¹ Through the 1930s, fear of disloyalty among Japanese Americans on the West Coast escalated. According to a 1934 U.S. State Department memorandum, “the entire Japanese population” would rise in support of Tokyo if war were to break out between the U.S. and Japan. By October of 1940, the U.S. executive branch even drafted plans for mass confinement of Japanese “aliens.”¹⁴² Around this time, Attorney General Biddle declared that, if ties were to be severed between the U.S. and Japan,

¹³⁹ Midge Ayukawa, email message to author, May 4, 2011.

¹⁴⁰ Robinson, *A Tragedy of Democracy*, 64.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 32.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 48.

“the government ha[d] made plans for the segregation of Nipponese alien groups for a ‘temporary period.’”¹⁴³

Canadian officials, likewise, met prior to the attack to discuss possible measures that would be taken in the case of war with Japan.¹⁴⁴ Though Canada’s senior military officials insisted that Japanese Canadians did not “constitute the slightest menace to national security,” the racist sentiments of Prime Minister Mackenzie King significantly influenced the wartime policy that would soon follow. In August 1940, he dismissed the General Staff’s consensus that a Japanese invasion was impossible and remarked to B.C. Premier Duff Pattullo that he was “far from believing that [they] could take anything for granted, *vis-à-vis* the Orient.”¹⁴⁵ Between March and August of 1941, all Japanese Canadians over 16 years of age were required to register with the RCMP.¹⁴⁶ Moreover, records exist from confidential meetings held in Ottawa in July of 1941 during which Canadian officials discussed measures that would be taken in the case of war with Japan. According to Ann Gomer Sunahara, the discrepancy between the General Staff and Canada’s politicians was undeniably clear:

By November 1941 the stage was set. In a political climate where equal rights for non-white minorities was perceived as a politically dangerous proposition, Japanese Canadians had placed their trust in their government, unaware of the degree to which that government could already be expected to betray them, and equally aware that government policy in regard to them was largely shaped by the opinions of a racist politician. Although supported by Canada’s senior police and military officers, Japanese Canadians had no friends among the politicians who would determine their fate.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴³ Biddle, quoted in Robinson, *A Tragedy of Democracy*, 49.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 64.

¹⁴⁵ W.L.M. King to T.D. Pattullo, August 21, 1940, T.D. Pattullo Papers, Add MSS 3, vol. 75, file 8, Public Archives of B.C., quoted in Sunahara, *The Politics of Racism*, 24.

¹⁴⁶ Nikkei National Museum & Cultural Centre, “Japanese Canadian Timeline,” Nikkei Centre, <http://centre.nikkeiplace.org/japanese-canadian-timeline/> (accessed April 12, 2013).

¹⁴⁷ Sunahara, *The Politics of Racism*, 25.

In the days following the attack, there was much discussion amongst Canadian military and civilian leaders who sought coordination with American policies. Despite the fact that the United States and Canada initially expressed their desire to maintain “unity of action” in regards to the “Japanese problem,” the U.S. in reality offered only minimal consultation.¹⁴⁸ As Greg Robinson points out:

...in it’s policy on ethnic Japanese (as in elsewhere), while Canadians did make an effort to take note of American policies, Canadian leaders from Prime Minister King downward also continued their longstanding habit of making use of American policies and the need to keep in lockstep with them, less as a guide to action than as an expedient justification for it (or sometimes for inaction) when it suited them.¹⁴⁹

In this manner, the internment of Japanese Canadians is both overshadowed by that of the Japanese Americans and seen in the same light. However, it is important to recognize that the experiences of individuals of Japanese descent in Canada remained distinct from those in the United States. The policies of Prime Minister Mackenzie King and those of FDR were strongly related, yet designed and developed independently and, as such, are subject to separate analysis. For the purpose of my thesis, I will focus my attention on the action taken by the Canadian government, yet highlight important points at which United States policy converged or diverged with Canadian policy.

The new reality for Japanese Canadians was evident within hours of the attack on Pearl Harbor. The very speed with which the government reacted provides evidence that these measures were premeditated and had been carefully planned prior to December 7, 1941. Male Japanese nationals were the first to suffer the legal ramifications. Unlike the United States, Canadian officials did not initially conduct mass arrests and raids on *Issei* homes. However, thirty-eight Japanese Canadian men were singled out as “troublesome” for

¹⁴⁸ Robinson, *A Tragedy of Democracy*, 64.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 65.

displaying resistance and were consequently sent to prisoner-of-war camps in northern Ontario.¹⁵⁰ Moreover, Order in Council P.C. 9591 stipulated that all Japanese nationals and individuals naturalized after 1922 register with the Registrar of Enemy Aliens.¹⁵¹ The day after the attack, 1,137 boats belonging to Japanese Canadians (all of whom were Canadian citizens) were impounded and placed in the hands of a federally appointed committee in charge of supervising the boat sales, known as the Japanese Fishing Vessel Disposal Committee.¹⁵²



Figure 2.5. Japanese Canadian boats impounded the day after the attack on Pearl Harbor. *Source:* Public Archives of Canada/ Japanese Canadian Cultural Centre Archives, retrieved from *Discover Nikkei* (4/1/13)

As Ann Gomer Sunahara explains, impounding the fishing vessels was officially described as a “‘defensive measure,’ a measure that ‘proved’ the fishermen were traitors.”¹⁵³ The days after the attack, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) closed down all three Japanese-language newspapers, with the exception of *The New Canadian*, which was the only paper permitted to publish throughout the war. All Japanese language schools were,

¹⁵⁰ Robinson, *A Tragedy of Democracy*, 65.

¹⁵¹ Nikkei National Museum & Cultural Centre, “Japanese Canadian Timeline.”

¹⁵² Robinson, *A Tragedy of Democracy*, 166.

¹⁵³ Sunahara, *The Politics of Racism*, 30.

likewise, shut down.¹⁵⁴ Within a week, P.C. 365 ordered *all* individuals of Japanese origin, regardless of whether they held Canadian citizenship, to register with the Registrar of Enemy Aliens.¹⁵⁵

Two major components of Canadian law served as the basis for legitimizing the action taken towards Japanese Canadians. One of the most fundamental legal documents that upheld the internment of Japanese Canadians was the War Measures Act. Originally established in 1914, the War Measures Act gave the government authority to take measures necessary for “the security, defense, peace, order and welfare of Canada.”¹⁵⁶ In particular, the government assumed the power to take various measures in the event of “war, invasion or insurrection, real or apprehended.” Under this law, the government justified the expulsion, detention, incarceration, dispossession and finally the deportation of Japanese Canadians, who essentially became a “nationless people.”¹⁵⁷ The second component consisted of various Orders-in-Councils, which further detailed the restrictions placed upon all individuals of Japanese descent.

On January 16, 1942, Order-in-Council P.C. 365 authorized the Canadian government to create a one hundred mile “protected area” along the West Coast. This designated area came to represent the boundary of “imagined white collective space” of the Canadian nation (Figure 2.6).¹⁵⁸ Since the time of emigration at the beginning of the 20th century, the West Coast had provided a sense of rootedness and belonging for the Japanese Canadians. Despite the racist sentiment they encountered here, it was ultimately where they called home.

¹⁵⁴ Nikkei National Museum & Cultural Centre, “Japanese Canadian Timeline.”

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

¹⁵⁶ Mona Oikawa, “Cartographies of Violence: Women, Memory, and the Subjects of the Internment,” *Canadian Journal of Law and Society* 15 (2000): 40.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., 44.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

Especially for the majority of Japanese Canadians whose livelihood depended on the fishing industry, their expulsion from the coastal towns represented the destruction of not only their mode of work, but their way of life. In this manner, the placement of the camps in the interior had profound implications for the future of the community and the individuals' livelihoods.



Figure 2.6. 100-mile "Protected Area." *Source:* retrieved from the Asia-Pacific Journal, Japan Focus (4/1/13).

As Greg Robinson explains, the initial stages of relocation in Canada were considerably harsher and more abrupt than what took place in the United States.¹⁵⁹ Because the British Columbia Security Commission (BCSC) lacked significant resources and many provincial leaders prohibited Japanese Canadians from settling in their territory without military supervision, federal officials created road camps as an expedient alternative to remove Japanese immigrants and their families from the coast.¹⁶⁰ By February 7, 1942 the Canadian government announced that all male “enemy aliens” between the ages of 18 and 45 would be forcibly removed from the “protected area” by April 1.

Meanwhile, events south of the border escalated dramatically. With Executive 9066, President Roosevelt authorized the War Department to exclude “any and all persons” from any designated area. This order essentially singled out the Japanese as a threat and legalized the removal of 110,000 Japanese Americans from the West Coast.¹⁶¹ As Ann Gomer Sunahara points out, “Few Americans were likely to object to the racist action if it were clothed in the useful garment of ‘military necessity.’”¹⁶² U.S. General John L. DeWitt’s extreme anti-Japanese sentiments largely influenced the actions of President Roosevelt and secretary of war Henry L. Stimson. Despite no Japanese Americans in Hawaii or the mainland United States had been convicted of sabotage or espionage, DeWitt instilled fear that all individuals of Japanese descent were inherently dangerous.¹⁶³ As he once stated, “We are at war... and a Jap is a Jap is a Jap.”¹⁶⁴

¹⁵⁹ Robinson, *A Tragedy of Democracy*, 133.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., 134.

¹⁶¹ Sunahara, *The Politics of Racism*, 46.

¹⁶² Ibid.

¹⁶³ Carey McWilliams, *What About Our Japanese-Americans?* (New York, NY: Public Affairs Committee: American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1944) Special Collections Library, Duke University, 5.

¹⁶⁴ John L. DeWitt, quoted in Ronald Takaki, *A Different Mirror* (New York: Little, Brown & Co., 2008), 343.

Soon after the issuing of Executive Order 9066, Canada followed suit. As Sunahara remarks, the actions of the U.S. government greatly influenced the Canadian government's treatment of the Japanese Canadians:

The American action sealed the fate of Japanese Canadians. The Cabinet had already decided to remove all male Japanese Canadians and had assumed that the dependents of those men would voluntarily join them outside the 'protected' coastal area. To conform with the American policy, Canada had only to add a forced removal of those dependents to their existing plans. To assume responsibility for the wives and children of the relocated men would change only the means, not the end product of existing Canadian policy. Both methods assured Mackenzie's goal: the obliteration of the Japanese problem in British Columbia.¹⁶⁵

By February 24, 1942, the Minister of Justice was permitted under P.C. 1486 to control the movement of "any and all persons" from any designated "protected area."¹⁶⁶ In reality, Canada's top military and police officers opposed the uprooting of Japanese Canadians, yet the political demands of British Columbia's Parliamentary members coupled with Prime Minister Mackenzie King's fierce racial hostility toward the Japanese ultimately impacted the nature of the Canadian internment. This sentiment is particularly evident in a diary entry in which King recounts a conversation he had with Chinese envoy T.V. Soong. Soong remarked that he did not trust the Japanese "no matter how honorable they might appear to be," and King admits that "[he] agreed with him."¹⁶⁷ Cabinet leader Ian Mackenzie further swayed the decisions made by British Columbia parliamentary members with his own racial bias. He once stated: "It is my intention, as long as I remain in public life, to see they never come back here."¹⁶⁸ Clearly, Mackenzie was willing to take great measures to see that the

¹⁶⁵ Sunahara, *The Politics of Racism*, 47.

¹⁶⁶ Mona Oikawa, *Cartographies of Violence: Women, Memory, and the Subjects of Internment* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011), 44.

¹⁶⁷ Mackenzie King Diary, February 28, 1942, Library and Archives Canada (LAC), Ottawa, quoted in Robinson, *A Tragedy of Democracy*, 100.

¹⁶⁸ *Vancouver Province*, April 4, 1942, quoted in Sunahara, *The Politics of Racism*, 101.

internment of Japanese Canadians became a reality. By February 26, 1942, the Minister of Justice ordered all individuals of the “Japanese race” to leave the coast. A dusk-to-dawn curfew was implemented, and cars, cameras, as well as radios were confiscated.¹⁶⁹

On March 4, 1942, under Order-in-Council P.C. 1655, Canadian law legalized the dispossession of Japanese Canadians by placing their property under the “control and management” of the Custodian of Alien Property. The Canadian government subsequently established the B.C. Security Commission to oversee expulsion of all Japanese Canadians. Finally, with the signing of P.C. 1481 by Prime Minister Mackenzie King, the forced internment of 22,000 Japanese Canadians from the West Coast became a reality. For many, especially the *Nisei*, Canada was the only country that had ever been their home, yet the government saw them as inextricably tied to Japan. In this context, citizenship did not always grant individuals equal protection under the law, nor did it equate to a sense of belonging in one’s country of birth. By March 24, the BCSC began assigning men to road camps, while women and children were sent to internment camps in the interior. It is cruelly ironic to consider that “Japanese were expelled from their homes at a time when Canadians were priding themselves that they were fighting for freedom.”¹⁷⁰

Thus, while most Japanese Americans remained together for the duration of the internment years, many Japanese Canadian families were separated. Upon government orders, naturalized *Issei* and *Nisei* men were sent to road labor camps in remote parts of British Columbia and northern Ontario.¹⁷¹ Not only did this expedite the removal of Japanese Canadians from the coast, but it also provided an opportunity for the government to oversee

¹⁶⁹ Nikkei National Museum & Cultural Centre, “Japanese Canadian Timeline.”

¹⁷⁰ Maurice Pope, *Soldiers and Politicians* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962), 176-178, quoted in Saul M. Cherniack, *Canada and the Japanese Canadians*, ed. Jewish Heritage Centre of Western Canada (Winnipeg: Jewish Heritage Centre of Western Canada, 2000), 6.

¹⁷¹ Robinson, *A Tragedy of Democracy*, 137.

improvements to road systems in several remote towns, including Hope, Revelstoke, and Yellowhead B.C., as well as Schreiber Ontario. As Greg Robinson explains, “they were put to labor for which often they had no experience, or they froze in the deep snow of a Canadian winter, unable to work.”¹⁷² Approximately 1,700 Japanese male “enemy aliens” were sent to road camps in the Interior.¹⁷³

Though my grandfather Robert Mori and his family were not interned, his family too was torn apart. Prior to the war, the Mori family lived in Kitsilano, B.C.—a town near the outskirts of Vancouver. As my grandfather recounted, everything changed when the war broke out: “One day when my dad was running the business, the Mounties came and said ‘get in the truck and go.’ He told them ‘I have to say bye to the family, my kids,’ and he said ‘No just go, we’ll look after them.’”¹⁷⁴ For nearly two years, his father lived in a road camp in northern B.C., where he worked helping to build the Trans-Canada highway. Meanwhile, my grandfather, Robert Mori, along with his eight siblings and mother, left for Grand Forks, a “ghost town” located in the interior of B.C. They worked on a seed farm for the remainder of the war years. Though the Mori family escaped the harsh confinement of internment, living conditions were, by no means, comfortable: “When we got to Grand Forks, there was no house. [We were] put in a chicken coup. We white washed it. There were only two rooms, and we slept there. In the winter time, the cold air came through the cracks of the house and turned the floor white.”¹⁷⁵ My great-grandfather Mori was eventually reunited with his family in Grand Forks, B.C.

¹⁷² Robinson, *A Tragedy of Democracy*, 134.

¹⁷³ Sunahara, *The Politics of Racism*, 38, 45.

¹⁷⁴ Robert Mori, interview by author, March 11, 2011.

¹⁷⁵ Robert Mori, interview by author, April 5, 2013.

The father of my great-aunt Midge was similarly sent away to a road camp. Such experiences made the process of internment even more traumatic for families as they were torn apart. Midge similarly recounted her memories of the day her father was sent away:

My mother insisted that it was the 13th (March) so it was a “bad-luck day.” My dad told her not to be so silly. When I returned from school that day (I was in Grade Seven—11 years old) I found my parents were home and had bought lots of things like a large suit-case, waterproof jacket, a warm jacket, etc. He soon left on a train for the road camps. We didn’t know if we would ever see him again...Then in May or June he was sent to the Interior (the Kootenays) to help build the camps where the families were to be sent. My father was a master carpenter from Japan and he was sent there from the road camp too.

Eventually, Midge’s father was reunited with his family. However, the very idea of building the camp in which fellow Japanese Canadians would be incarcerated is cruelly ironic.

Many Japanese Canadians were outraged by the forced separation of their families. While some protested evacuation to distant road camps, others proposed alternative plans for evacuation. For instance, a group of Japanese-born Canadians, known as the Naturalized Japanese Canadian Association (NJCA), proposed that Japanese Canadian families be transported together to a settlement upon which they could build their own loghouses with materials provided by the government.¹⁷⁶ The British Columbia Security Commission (BCSC) adamantly stated that individuals who refused to report to the road labor camps would face imprisonment for one year, as well as a \$4,500 fine.¹⁷⁷ The Nisei Mass Evacuation Group, likewise, proposed that families be permitted to stay together, yet the BCSC once again warned that resisters would face imprisonment or internment.

Ultimately, these “troublemakers” were deemed prisoners of war by the government. Approximately 758 *Nisei* men were incarcerated at Petawawa and later at Angler, Ontario,

¹⁷⁶ Robinson, *A Tragedy of Democracy*, 137-138.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., 134.

while their families remained in the interior settlements for the duration of the war.¹⁷⁸

Yoshikazu Kimura, the father of my great-uncle Robert Kimura, was one of these 758 *Nisei* men.¹⁷⁹ Not only was he a national, but he was politically active and most likely seen as a threat to the security of “Canadian” society. Robert Kimura, who was ten years old at the time of evacuation, recounted his family’s experience:

I think when the war started, he was put in jail right away. I think this is what they call protocol. They had so many nationalists and they put him in jail. Actually, he was in a detention center near the docks... I went with my mother to see my father in this detention camp. And he wasn’t too sure where he was going, except he was going to be sent to the interior somewhere. Finally we found out where he went. He went to Petawawa camp. It was an army base at one point, and I think he was transferred later to Angler.¹⁸⁰

In seeking to understand the deliberate orchestration of the internment, it is important to view the historical narrative not only temporally, but spatially. The work of Mona Oikawa, a Japanese Canadian *Sansei*, focuses on the geographical and spatial implications of the internment experience. As she explains, “[T]he temporal limitations imposed by the historical narrative relegate the violence of the Internment to the past. If we view history as a linear march of progress through time, we may fail to see the long-term effects of national violence and the multiple ways in which violence is continually being perpetrated against various subordinated communities.¹⁸¹ In turn, by “spatializing” the historical narrative, we may conceptualize history more accurately and develop a full “picture of violence.” Seeing

¹⁷⁸ Robert K. Okazaki, *The Nisei Mass Evacuation Group and POW Camp 101: the Japanese-Canadian Community’s Struggle for Justice and Human Rights during World War II* (Scarborough, Ontario: Markham Litho Limited, 1996), A-48.

¹⁷⁹ See Appendix D, List of men in POW Camp, including Robert Kimura’s father.

¹⁸⁰ Robert Kimura, “Japanese Canadian Experience Conference: Sharing Your Stories of the War Years,” Sedai project, Japanese Canadian Cultural Centre, Toronto, ON, November 20, 2010.

¹⁸¹ Oikawa, “Cartographies of Violence,” 42.

the internment through a spatial and temporal lens is crucial to understanding the full impact of the Japanese Canadian experience.¹⁸²

The geographical segregation and dispersal of the Japanese Canadian community was a strategic decision on behalf of the Canadian government to permanently eliminate all individuals of Japanese descent from the West Coast. The forced dispersal of 22,000 individuals “across provincial municipal and national boundaries” was undoubtedly a “deliberate orchestration.”¹⁸³ Oikawa draws attention to the role that multiple spaces and the forced mass movement of people have in the “reproduction of a racial social order and a white nation-state.” This movement, in fact, has profound implications for understanding the present-day geographical organization of the Canadian nation-state:

The notion of cartography of violence is used to illuminate that the mapping of Canada—the making of the nation and the subjects within it—is based upon systematic racial exclusions and other social divisions. Remapping the spaces of the internment, therefore, reveals the ideological framework through which Canada was made and the forgetting of violence that is essential to this project of nation-building and citizen constitution.¹⁸⁴

The alienation of Japanese Canadians had persisted since the beginning of the twentieth century, yet the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor was an opportunity to purportedly legitimize and legally uphold the geographic segregation of individuals of Japanese descent from the dominant Anglo-conformist model in British Columbia. The labeling of Japanese nationals as “enemy aliens” and Canadian citizens of Japanese origin as “disloyal” justified the expulsion of 22,000 individuals from the “‘respectable’ space of the white bourgeois

¹⁸² See Appendix E, Digital map. To truly “spatialize” the internment and its repercussions, I have created a map of important locations discussed through my thesis.

¹⁸³ Oikawa, “Cartographies of Violence,” 39.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., 41.

metropolis.”¹⁸⁵ In this process, Japanese Canadians were stripped of their identities as Canadians and cast as belonging to the nation of the “enemy.”¹⁸⁶ Though present-day Canada prides itself on a policy of multiculturalism, which celebrates the “cultural mosaic” of ethnic groups within the nation, the realities of the Japanese Canadian internment reveal that a dark history lies beneath. As Oikawa argues, “The Canadian nation was made, in part, by the incarceration and displacement of Japanese Canadians.” Legal “technologies” such as the War Measures Act produced and “normalized” violence against the Japanese Canadian community—ultimately perpetuating “white domination over space.”¹⁸⁷

As Mona Oikawa argues, the term “camps” often singularizes the space and, thus, the memory of the internment in the collective scope of Canadian history. “Spatially conflating” the incarceration has contributed to both its forgetting and denial within the public memory.¹⁸⁸ In Oikawa’s words, “Like the rendition of the Internment as a temporal moment, a ‘sad chapter’ or a ‘page’ of past Canadian history, the singularity of space serves to obfuscate the extent and materiality of the violence of destroying communal and familial relations through incarceration and displacement.”¹⁸⁹ In this manner, the Canadian government is responsible not only for destroying the physical and material structure of the Japanese Canadian community, but also contributing to the erasure of internment in the nation’s collective memory. The photos, personal accounts, and archival correspondences documenting my family’s story all challenge the notion of “spatially conflating” this period in Canadian history. They provide a personal, intimate and real-life account of the destruction of the Japanese Canadian community. The internment cannot be cast aside as a

¹⁸⁵ Oikawa, “Cartographies of Violence,” 44.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., 47.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid.

“chapter” of Canadian history. It is part of the ongoing narrative, and its overtones continue to be felt today.

Upon analysis of government action, one can begin to recognize not only the scale of the violence, but also the “microprocesses of power” required to carry out the destruction of a transnational ethnic community.¹⁹⁰ By providing a snapshot of different wartime experiences for *Nisei* in my family, I hope to dispel the myth of the “singular” internment camp.

Shedding light on the multiple geographies of the internment camps allows one to recognize that the experiences of Japanese Canadians varied greatly from camp to camp, from family to family, and from individual to individual.

Snapshots of Camp Life

Hastings Park

Unlike the United States, which utilized community centers to register internees, Canada temporarily housed Japanese Canadians at the Livestock Building and the Women’s Building in Hastings Park until they could be sent away from the coast.¹⁹¹ This is where the Ayukawa and Kimura families, like the majority of Japanese Canadians, were first sent. The Ayukawa family arrived in June of 1942 and remained there until September of 1942.

Though Robert Kimura’s father was sent to a POW camp for the remainder of the war, my great-grandfather Shizuo reunited with his family at Hastings Park. My grandmother, Ryuko Mori, once recounted to me the humiliation she felt as animals were cleared out of their stalls to make room for the Japanese Canadians. Soon, the temporary holding facility had nearly four thousand internees. Men, women and children were separated by sex and forced into

¹⁹⁰ Oikawa, “Cartographies of Violence,” 40.

¹⁹¹ Robinson, *A Tragedy of Democracy*, 135.

cramped and humiliating living conditions within the Hasting Park buildings.¹⁹² As my great-uncle Robert Kimura recounted, “My mother and her six kids, we were sent to Hastings Park. All I remember, is you were allowed one big suitcase, and that was it.”¹⁹³ With her husband in a distant POW camp, Robert Kimura’s mother was forced to look after six children, ages one to fourteen, on her own.



Figure 2.7. Men’s dormitory at Hastings Park. *Source:* Vancouver Public Library, retrieved from National Association of Japanese Canadians (4/12/13).

In her article “From Japs to Japanese Canadian to Canadian,” my great-aunt Midge describes her observations of Hastings Park: “I recall visiting a classmate and being appalled at the rows upon rows of metal bunk beds, the crowded conditions, and the stench remaining from the buildings’ previous use as a livestock barn.”¹⁹⁴ Privacy was nearly nonexistent. No partition divided internees, and only three feet separated each bunk. As my grandmother once recounted to me, makeshift toilets were constructed out of troughs left from the animals that once inhabited the grounds. Initially, internees also lacked running water. For nearly

¹⁹² Robinson, *A Tragedy of Democracy*, 135.

¹⁹³ Ellen and Robert Kimura, interview by author, Tampa, FL, March 11, 2011.

¹⁹⁴ Ayukawa, “Japs to Canadians,” 44.

four months, the Ayukawa family along with thousands of others lived in these humiliating, unsanitary, and inhumane conditions before they were uprooted yet again to the next site of internment. In total, approximately eight thousand internees passed through the confines of Hastings Park.

From Hastings Park, Japanese Canadians were dispersed to a number of locations across the Interior. While some were sent to labor on sugar beet farms in Alberta, other middle and upper class families, such as that of my grandfather Robert Mori, relocated to “self-support” camps on their own finances. A small minority also continued work in the road camps for the duration of the war or remained in POW camps in Ontario. However, the vast majority, approximately 11,000 individuals, was subject to confinement.¹⁹⁵ Government officials restricted adults to a maximum of 150 pounds of baggage and children to 75 pounds. However, because the RCMP often “carted off” Japanese Canadians without warning, most families only brought with them a “hastily packed suitcase or pillowcase.”¹⁹⁶ They were subsequently sent by train to one of five “ghost towns” in the Slocan Valley: Kaslo, Greenwood, New Denver, Sandon and Slocan City, which included “satellite” towns of Bay Farm, Popoff, and Lemon Creek.¹⁹⁷ Lastly, Tashme, located just within the 100-mile “protected area,” was considered an “American-style camp” because it was constructed specifically to house internees.¹⁹⁸ Named after the three main B.C. Security Commissioners— Taylor, Shirras, and Mead—Tashme became the final destination for my great-grandparents and the eight Ayukawa children.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁵ Robinson, *A Tragedy of Democracy*, 171.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., 134.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹⁹ See Figure 2.6 or Appendix F, Map of the internment camp locations.

New Denver



Figure 2.8. New Denver, B.C. *Source:* Public Archives of Canada / Japanese Canadian Cultural Centre, retrieved from *Discover Nikkei* (4/13/13).

From the time they departed Hastings Park in September of 1942 until July of 1945, New Denver, B.C. became a temporary home for the Ayukawa family and approximately 1,500 other Japanese Canadians.²⁰⁰ For my great-uncle Toru, the youngest of the Ayukawa children, New Denver was, in fact, his first home. It is where he was born and where he spent the first three years of his life.

New Denver was set against the backdrop of a glacial mountain and the beautiful Slocan Lake, located in the West Kootenay region in the southeastern interior of the province.²⁰¹ New Denver was also the location of the main hospital for internees, as well as the tuberculosis sanitarium. As Ken Adachi explains, the beauty of the camps' natural settings juxtaposed the reality of life within the camp:

All of the interior camps were psychologically deceptive places in which to live. The magnificence of the outdoor setting and the echoes of a romantic past were but candy wrapping, hiding a grim reality... By the winter of 1942, these camps came to be labeled by government administrators as "interior housing centres," "relocation centres" and "interior settlements."

²⁰⁰ Discover Nikkei, "Life in the Canadian Internment and POW Camps," Japanese Canadian Cultural Centre, <http://www.discovernikkei.org/en/nikkeialbum/albums/6/slide/?page=7> (accessed April 12, 2013).

²⁰¹ Ibid.

But these almost reassuring descriptive terms suggesting a cozy picture of a tranquil, sequestered life in the Kootenay Valley were simply euphemisms for what *Nisei* and others preferred to call “internment” or concentration camps.”²⁰²

The following pictures from the Ayukawa family album provide a glimpse into the lives of internees during their time at New Denver. Though cameras were officially contraband for individual use, these staged group photos were taken in either religious or educational contexts. The organization, neatness and formality of the photos suggests that, despite the humiliating circumstances of the camps, the Japanese Canadian community remained dignified and “civilized” contrary to their identity as “dangerous enemy aliens.” Dressed in suits and their “Sunday best,” the Ayukawa family stands among their fellow internees posing for a photo.



Figure 2.9 New Denver Buddhist Y.P.S. April 8, 1944. *Source:* Ayukawa family.
Fifth from left, first row: Shizuo Ayukawa
Sixth from right, second row: Grandmother Ryuko
Third from left, second row: Great-uncle Kaoru

²⁰² Adachi, *Enemy That Never Was*, 251-252.

What is particularly striking about these photos is that both were taken of the Ayukawa family in Buddhist groups. As Greg Rogerson points out, the “Buddhist majority struggled to construct temples and create makeshift facilities in the camps.”²⁰³ Nonetheless, these family photographs challenge the notion that Japanese Canadians severed all ties with their “Japaneseness” upon entering the camps.

Moreover, it is important to recognize that, in many respects, conditions in the Canadian camps were significantly harsher than in the American WRA (War Relocation Authority) camps. The Canadian government provided about one-third of the funding that the American government provided, forcing Japanese Canadians to use their own funds for food, schooling and other necessities.²⁰⁴ Consequently, Greg Robinson argues that the concept of “self-supporting projects” is a misnomer. Though a small minority of middle and upper class Japanese Canadians, such as the Mori family, did in fact relocate to “self-support” camps, Robinson points out that, in reality, all Japanese Canadians were required to essentially “live off their own funds.”²⁰⁵

The limited resources were particularly evident in the realm of education. Though Canadian provinces had an obligation to provide both primary and secondary schooling, this was not the case in Canadian internment camps. The British Columbia Security Commission (BCSC) provided schooling at the camps through the eighth grade. Many young *Nisei* college and high school students became teachers, and eventually a number of church groups opened kindergartens and high schools within the camps. In the words of Ellen Kimura, “Here you have this community, and the kids are running wild, so you try to make some

²⁰³ Robinson, *A Tragedy of Democracy*, 174.

²⁰⁴ Ibid., 201.

²⁰⁵ Ibid., 171.

structure.”²⁰⁶ Though schooling provided some resemblance of structure for children in internment camps, the quality of education was nonetheless compromised. Below is a picture of my great-aunt Ellen in the United Church kindergarten class.



Figure 2.10. New Denver United Kindergarten, June 1945. *Source:* Ayukawa family.

Second from left, back row: Ellen Kimura

Undertones of Christian humanism are once again present. Just as the Barnetts felt a “duty” to help the Ayukawa family, many Christian missionary teachers felt a responsibility to help educate children in the camps. Christian missionaries, as well as other religious and nonprofit groups, played a particularly important role in the Canadian internment camps. In the United States, the WRA (War Relocation Authority) provided Japanese American internees with housing and education, in addition to funding camp newspapers, leisure activities, and cooperatives.²⁰⁷ No such equivalent existed in the Japanese Canadian internment camps.

²⁰⁶ Ellen and Robert Kimura, interview by author, Tampa, FL, March 11, 2011.

²⁰⁷ Robinson, *A Tragedy of Democracy*, 286.

Lemon Creek

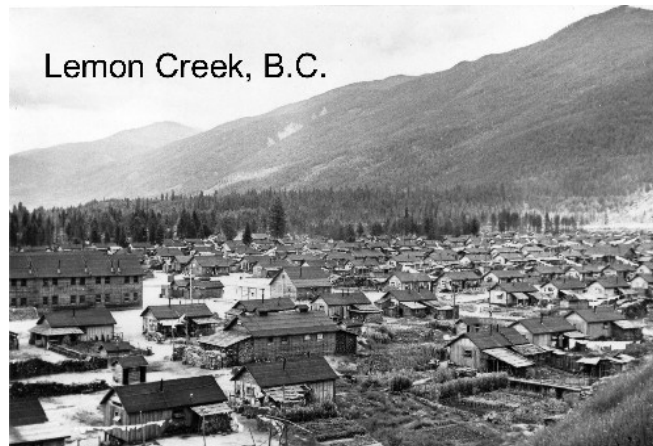


Figure 2.11. Lemon Creek, 1943. *Source:* K. Suga / Japanese Canadian Cultural Centre Archives, retrieved from *Discover Nikkei* (4/12/13).

Though the experiences of individuals throughout the various camps differ tremendously, the living conditions for thousands of Japanese Canadians were horrendous.

My great-aunt Midge's memories of life in Lemon Creek speak to this sentiment:

All the houses were 14 by 28 feet, 2 bedrooms and a small kitchen between them. You had to have 7 in the family before you got a whole house. They at first refused us a house to ourselves—but my mother asked if we could for the time being—and would agree to share it with others if necessary. How could two teenage boys, me and my younger brother and parents sleep in one small room?

In addition to these extremely cramped living conditions, my great-aunt Midge also described the primitive nature of life within the camps:

...We had kerosene lamps for light. My parents had to go and pick up a small can of fuel every week. Water was from a tap along the street opposite. It was my job to lug the pails of water and pour it into a reservoir my dad built. We cooked with a wood-burning stove and heat was by a wood stove too. The stoves were light sheet metal and turned red when it was used. There were out-houses along a back-lane between rows of houses... Winters were *cold*. And in summer there were mosquitoes. The houses had holes between the lumber and so there was no defense against the little pests.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁸ Midge Ayukawa, email message to author, May 4, 2011.

In the following image, Midge and her family are pictured outside their “home” in Lemon Creek (Figure 2.12). This image brings my great-aunt’s accounts to life. Her family’s tattered shack appears to be hastily constructed with little to no insulation. The snow is piled outside their home and nearly comes up to the knees of her little brother. As she recounted to me, “winters were *cold*.”



Figure 2.12. Midge Ayukawa and family outside their “home” in Lemon Creek, 1945. *Source:* Midge Ayukawa collection, Nikkei National Museum.

My great-aunt Midge’s memories of her school days in Lemon Creek were, likewise, particularly, vivid (Figure 2.13). As she recounted to me:

The school had a low priority in building. Teachers were *Nisei* high school grads (some had only Grade 11). They used the B.C. Department of Education correspondence courses. The government said they were not responsible for secondary education. After one year, the churches came and started one. No building so they had classes at night and Saturdays at the elementary school building. Later the parents decided to build a school (my dad was the leader since he had the experience in house building). The high school in Lemon Creek was provided by the United Church of Canada. The teachers were women missionaries who had been repatriated from Japan where they had taught at an English language school. We later had male teachers who had been conscientious objectors.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁹ Midge Ayukawa, email message to author, May 4, 2011.



Figure 2.13. Lemon Creek High School, Grade 11, 1946. *Source:* Midge Ayukawa collection, Nikkei National Museum.
First row, left, Midge Ayukawa.

Nearly seventy years later, my great-aunt was still able to recount the details of her years spent in Lemon Creek. In reflecting upon her experience, Midge stated, “I am appalled at what people in power and influence will do to fulfill their selfish interests... [At the time of internment], I was too young to really understand and I think I was protected by my parents. But now, I am disturbed by what the government did—individuals in the federal cabinet, Prime Minister Mackenzie King, and a lot of misguided and greedy people.”²¹⁰

²¹⁰ Midge Ayukawa, email message to author, May 4, 2011.



Figure 2.14. Slocan Internment Camp.
Source: Japanese Canadian Culture
Centre Archives, retrieved from

In examining the conditions of Canadian camps, it is also important to recognize that the very location of these camps forced Japanese Canadians to endure harsher climates in even more isolated environments than individuals in American internment camps. Winter temperatures in Slocan average from 12 to 41°F, yet lows have been recorded at -13°F. When my great-uncle Robert Kimura and his family arrived at the Slocan internment camp, he, his mother, and five siblings were forced to live in government-issued canvas supply tents while shacks were being constructed. “One night we had snow, and our tent collapsed,” described Kimura. With her husband sent away to the POW camp, Mrs. Kimura petitioned for better living conditions everyday at the commission office. She fought tirelessly to support herself and six children on her own. As my great-uncle remarked, “To me, she was the original feminist. She was always fighting for the women.”²¹¹ In reflecting upon his family’s traumatic experience in the camps, Kimura further added, “You have to realize it

²¹¹ Ellen and Robert Kimura, interview by author, Tampa, FL, March 11, 2011.

could happen again, usually history repeats itself. The reason I'm against war is you don't know what will happen. Men become animals, and it's not right. It becomes horror."²¹²



Figure 2.15. Camp Life in Slocan. *Source:* Ayukawa family.
Fourth from left, back row, Robert Kimura.

In my great-uncle Robert Kimura's reflections on school within the camps, he also remarked that he lost the Japanese language during these years. In his words, "I stopped learning [Japanese] in the camps, but did attend Sunday school. After the camps, I never went to Japanese school."²¹³ Growing up on Powell Street, Vancouver—also known as "Little Tokyo"—my great-uncle, like many young *Nisei* regularly attended Japanese language school. In the *Sedai* archive, a project by the Japanese Canadian Cultural Centre, my great-uncle recounted his memories of Japanese school: "I was 9 years old. I used to go to Japanese school on Jackson Avenue (near Powell Street). There was *katakana* for 1st grade, *hiragana* for 2nd grade, and *kanji* for 3rd grade."²¹⁴ Yet everything changed on

²¹² Ellen and Robert Kimura, interview by author, Tampa, FL, March 11, 2011.

²¹³ Ibid.

²¹⁴ Robert Kimura, "Sharing Your Stories of the War Years."

Hiragana and *katakana* refer to the Japanese phonetic alphabetic, while *kanji* refers to the Chinese characters.

December 7th, 1941, and the government shut down language schools. In this manner, children in the internment camps not only received an inadequate educational foundation during the formative years of their childhood, but also became even further distanced from their Japanese heritage. Thus, the internment not only physically destroyed the Japanese transnational community, but also contributed to my family's gradual shift toward disowning their "Japaneseness."

Confiscation of the Ayukawa Property

To compound the injustices already endured by the Japanese Canadian community, the land many had worked their entire lives to purchase was sold without their consent at just a fraction of its value. This was the case for the Ayukawa berry farm. The Ayukawa family fonds from Library and Archives Canada (LAC) located in Ottawa provide an in-depth account of the property's confiscation, forced sale and subsequent lawsuit filed in the post-internment years. In discussing the confiscation of Ayukawa property, I seek to highlight the government's intent to permanently destroy the Japanese Canadian transnational community. The internment of the Ayukawa family and subsequent forced sale of their property ensured they would never again return to their home in Mission. In fact, the government ultimately succeeded in ensuring they never returned to the West Coast.

British Columbia's senior cabinet minister, Ian Mackenzie, was in charge of Japanese Canadian removal from the West Coast and subsequently was responsible for the sale of farmland. His proposed Veterans' Land Act in 1942 not only provided white army veterans with an opportunity to purchase land cheaply, but also ensured Japanese Canadians would never again return to British Columbia. On April 15, 1942, my great-grandfather leased his

land to Mr. Stephen F. Murphy, who remained the tenant for approximately ten months. Shortly after, Shizuo wrote to the Custodian of Enemy Property requesting permission to sell the property to Mr. Murphy for \$3,550. Mr. Murphy subsequently refused this offer, as he considered the price “unreasonable.”²¹⁵ As documented by government officials, the property consisted of four acres in strawberries, one acre in raspberries, and three acres rented to Y. Aihoshi, my great-grandmother’s brother.²¹⁶

By January 10, 1943, the Custodian was given power “to liquidate, sell or otherwise dispose of the property in his control.”²¹⁷ The Ayukawa farm was one of approximately 939 other Japanese-owned “alien” properties that was appraised by government officials at approximately 70 percent of market value and sold without consent. The assessed value in 1943 for the 9-acre Ayukawa farm was merely \$360 with \$750 of improvements, for a total of \$1,110.²¹⁸ In January 1943, the Ayukawa land was subsequently sold to the Director of the Veterans’ Land Act for \$1,405.²¹⁹ The proceeds were credited to Japanese escrow accounts in the Office of the Custodian and could be withdrawn for “self-support.”²²⁰ However, internees were apparently restricted from withdrawing more than \$100 per month.²²¹ More disturbing was the fact that Japanese Canadians could not save this money to rebuild their lives after the camps. They were essentially forced to pay for their own incarceration.²²² Japanese Canadians became prisoners of war within their own countries. However, by contrast to prisoners of war of enemy nations, they lacked protection from

²¹⁵ “Real Property History,” May 1, 1946, Ayukawa Family Fonds, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa (LAC).

²¹⁶ “Statement of Personal Property Owned,” Ayukawa Family Fonds, LAC.

²¹⁷ Cherniack, *Canada and the Japanese Canadians*, 8.

²¹⁸ “Real Property History,” LAC.

²¹⁹ “Real Property Claim,” September 9, 1948, Ayukawa Family Fonds, LAC.

²²⁰ Cherniack, *Canada and the Japanese Canadians*, 8.

²²¹ Robinson, *A Tragedy of Democracy*, 179.

²²² Ibid.

international laws such as the Geneva Convention, which would have saved them the financial burden of paying for their own internment.²²³

The “Report on Evacuated Japanese Property,” dated 1943, documents the “effects left on the property” and provides a detailed list of each item left behind by the Ayukawa family. Among the items listed were one crock, one “Jap” cooker, one old oil stove, one cabinet, and three window screens.²²⁴ Lists of items left in the picker’s house, berry house, and packing shed were also included. Most articles “of value” were left in the care of either Mr. Murphy or Mr. Barnett, the Ayukawa family’s close family friend.²²⁵ These items included a box containing old clothes, a kitchen range, stone crock, and a roll of raspberry wire. Among these items, several were shipped to the Ayukawas during their internment. It is also noted that the proceeds of the kitchen range were used to buy articles, which were subsequently shipped to the Ayukawa family. A memo states that “very little was left on the property and what was there was afterwards ransacked.”²²⁶ It is also noted that my great-grandfather’s Ford truck was placed under the custody of the RCMP (Royal Canadian Mounted Police) in Hastings Park. Though these details of the internment may seem negligible, they shed light on the “microprocesses” of power necessary to execute each step of the dispossession and dispersion of the Japanese Canadian community.²²⁷ These archival artifacts are eerie remnants of the past. They bring to life the image of the abandoned Ayukawa home following the government’s orders of “evacuation.” This image is like a crime scene: a house—deserted and empty—ransacked as if by a thief. The guilty hands, however, belong not to an individual, but to the Canadian government.

²²³ Robinson, *A Tragedy of Democracy*, 179.

²²⁴ “Report on Evacuated Japanese Property: Chattels left on property,” 1943, Ayukawa Family Fonds, LAC.

²²⁵ Memo from Mr. H.F. Green to Mr. J. Moryson, April 6, 1944, Ayukawa Family Fonds, LAC.

²²⁶ Ibid.

²²⁷ The idea of “microprocesses” of power is cited by Mona Oikawa in *Cartographies of Violence*.

The story of the Barnetts' loyalty to the Ayukawa family does not end upon the Ayukawas' incarceration. In fact, throughout the internment years, the Barnetts continued to demonstrate their dedication and willingness to stand up to Canadian authorities. As mentioned, before leaving for Hastings Park, my great-grandfather Shizuo arranged to leave several articles with Mr. Barnett. This arrangement, however, was considered illegal by the Canadian Office of the Custodian of Enemy Property. The following correspondence between Mr. Barnett and the Custodian, as documented in Library and Archives Canada (LAC) complicates the binary of white British Columbians and the Japanese Canadians. It suggests that, despite such times of extreme racial hostility, there was humanity after all. The Barnetts' helping hand breaks the stereotype of the typical white British Columbian racists, who fought desperately to ensure Japanese Canadians would never again return to "their" province. This correspondence paints a picture of hope in a time of utter bleakness.

The first letter dated May 5, 1943 was written by Mr. Barnett to the Office of the Custodian. He writes:

I have on several occasions told your office clerk for the past twenty-five years we have worked among the Japanese of this district as teachers, etc. and in that time have succeeded in gaining their trust which we would not betray under any circumstances, and anything we can do to alleviate their unpleasant circumstances we count it a privilege and gives us an opportunity to demonstrate in a practical way the Christian principles we have tried to teach them in the past... Now as regards Ayukawa. The money I hold for him is the proceeds of a contract made before evacuation in which an unlimited time was allowed for payment to be made, when the cash was available I was instructed by Mr. Ayukawa to hold it as a shopping fund so that from time to time as necessity arose I could purchase articles for the family and ship them up. I explained this to your representative but he probably didn't understand I have always co-operated with your office in every possible way and shall continue to do so, but I feel it my duty as a Christian teacher of these people to keep any promises made to them and to render them any service in my power.²²⁸

²²⁸ Barnett to Office of Custodian, May 5, 1943, Ayukawa Family Fonds, LAC.

Mr. Barnett's account of working "among" the Japanese for twenty-five years portrays a sense of equality. The Japanese Canadians who transformed thousands of acres of the Fraser Valley from a wilderness to fertile farms did not work for white British Columbians. Mr. Barnett's remark suggests they were perceived as an integral part of the community in which they lived. It was a relationship of interdependence and cooperation, not of subordination or abuse. "Succeed[ing]" in gaining the Japanese Canadians' trust was not something Mr. Barnett and his wife took for granted. In fact, it was a "privilege" to help them during this crucial time. His last remarks, however, cast a different light on their intentions. Helping the Japanese Canadians may be interpreted as a form of Christian humanism. The Barnetts did not assist the Ayukawa family solely without a sense of obligation. It was their "duty" as "Christian teacher[s]" to help the Japanese Canadians under such "unfortunate circumstances."

The response from the Treasury Department of the British Columbia Security Commission (BCSC) dated May 7, 1943 demonstrates that government officials were unmoved by Mr. Barnett's sentiments.

We fully appreciate the aid and comfort you are giving to your Japanese friends and your desire to continue doing so. However, under the Powers conferred on the Custodian under the Consolidated Regulations Respecting Trading with the Enemy (1939), the Custodian requires under Article No. 56 that you provide us with complete information regarding the transaction involved, together with particulars of amount held, and under articles No. 34, 35, 36, the Custodian stipulates that you [send] to this office in the form of a cheque made payable to the Custodian of Enemy Property the amount of money held by you to the credit of Shizuo Ayukawa, an individual of the Japanese race, whose affairs vest in the Custodian.²²⁹

²²⁹ Treasury Department, B.C. Security Commission, May 7, 1943, Ayukawa Family Fonds, LAC.

The emphasis on the fact that the Ayukawas were the Barnetts' *Japanese* friends reinforces that they were not recognized as Japanese *Canadians*, but instead belonging solely to the enemy empire. In multiple contexts, the Ayukawas are cast as "the enemy." The rules regarding "trading with the enemy" are referenced, in addition to the statement that the Ayukawa farm was "enemy property." This racial "othering" of the Ayukawa family is further apparent in qualifying Shizuo Ayukawa as "an individual of the Japanese race." On the basis of their racial "inferiority," Japanese Canadians became mere possessions of the state. The affairs of any individual "of the Japanese race" were vested solely in the Custodian.

In a subsequent letter dated May 20, 1943, Mr. Barnett wrote to the Office of the Custodian once more. He expresses his frustration regarding "trading with the enemy." He insists that "if trying to spread a little Christian charity, if visiting the TB cases in Hastings Park, attending the funerals of those who died while there, if keeping [his] word to those forced from their land," constitutes "trading with the enemy," then he and Mrs. Barnett are "guilty."²³⁰ This dramatic statement and sarcastic confession that he is "guilty" of some crime underhandedly criticizes the illegality of the internment and unjust actions of the state.

The next day, the Custodian replied to Mr. Barnett, still adamant about taking hold of my great-grandfathers' assets. He demands Mr. Barnett forward to the Custodian "the amount of money held... in trust to the credit of Shizuo Ayukawa," but insists they have "no intention whatsoever of quarrelling."²³¹ Mr. Barnett's final response on May 25, 1943 is a particularly poignant:

Many thanks for your understanding letter of the 21st. I am extremely sorry if my previous letters sounded a little bitter, but I have witnessed so

²³⁰ Barnett to Office of Custodian, May 20, 1943, Ayukawa Family Fonds, LAC.

²³¹ Office of the Custodian to Barnett, May 21, 1943, Ayukawa Family Fonds, LAC.

much injustices to these unfortunate people that I sometimes feel ashamed of my own race and especially that section which claims to be Christian.²³²

Mr. Barnett's insistence that he is "ashamed of [his] own race" is evidence that some white British Columbians may have sought to distinguish themselves from the mainstream white British Columbian racists. Despite his struggle with the authorities, the Manager of the Japanese Evacuation Section replied, acknowledging his appreciation for the stance Mr. Barnett had taken and assuring that he would "explain the matter fully to Mr. Ayukawa" and send a receipt of the transferred funds.²³³ The preceding letters strongly contradict the story of the internment as one solely involving the Canadian government and Japanese Canadians. The destruction of the Japanese Canadian community was much more complex and generated resistance in unforeseeable contexts.

Near the conclusion of the Ayukawa family's time in New Denver, they received word from the Barnett's. Dated December 30, 1944, this letter provides an intimate look into the Barnetts' unwavering loyalty:

Dear Friends,

Here we are at the end of another year and still things are unsettled. May they be brought to a satisfactory conclusion before we reach the end of 1945. Many, many thanks for your kind remembrance of us at Christmas, it was indeed nice to know you do not forget us in spite of being separated, we often think and speak of you and the good times we had together. And Mrs. Barnett never tires of talking about the kindergarten especially at Christmas when the little ones were preparing for their concert. This year she attended the Cedar Valley concert and it brought many pleasant memories to mind, together we hope the coming year still bring you your heart's desires and above all that it may bring peace. I wish to report that the Custodian has received the rest of the stuff I had here and has put in in the sale as you will probably be hearing from him, I still have the box with some clothing in as he did not consider it worth anything, also of course I have the rocking chair which Mrs. Ayukawa told us to keep for my own use. I shall keep it for you until you need it and the little doll and dog

²³² Barnett to Office of the Custodian, May 25, 1943, Ayukawa Family Fonds, LAC.

²³³ Office of the Custodian to Barnett, May 26, 1943, Ayukawa Family Fonds, LAC.

which belonged to the children. I am sorry Murphy was allowed to remove the other stuff. I tried to get the Custodian to check up on him but it didn't do any good. It's all a pretty bad affair but one cannot fight the authorities in a time like this, we just have to take it. I hope you are keeping well.²³⁴

Yours sincerely,
Harry T. Barnett

The nostalgic tone of Mr. Barnett's letter is a touching portrayal of his family's unending support of the Ayukawa family. He reminisces about the "good times" they once spent together—when the Ayukawa children would attend Mrs. Barnett's kindergarten and the "little ones" would prepare for concerts. It presents a picture of normalcy and a time when life seemed carefree, which offers a poignant juxtaposition to the life of uncertainty to which the Ayukawas had been subjected. The mention of the belongings, which the Custodian did not consider "worth anything," is particularly moving. The rocking chair, doll and dog Mr. Barnett was holding for the Ayukawas are symbolic of the comforts of home. These comforts, now nonexistent, were replaced with a barren camp and tattered shacks. Mr. Barnett's concluding remarks are particularly bleak. Mr. Murphy, the tenant of the Ayukawa house, was authorized by the Custodian to remove the rest of their belongings. Despite Mr. Barnett's initial resistance against the Custodian, he resigns in the end, stating that "[i]t's all a pretty bad affair." They could not fight the authorities "in a time like this." Instead they "just [had] to take it." This had become the harsh reality for thousands of Japanese Canadians, victimized by the Canadian government.

²³⁴ Barnett to Ayukawa family, December 30, 1944, Ayukawa Family Fonds, LAC.

Final Internment Days



Figure 2.16. Tashme Postcard. *Source:* Ayukawa family.

Tashme was the final site of incarceration for the Ayukawa family. Named after British Columbia's three leading security commissioners Taylor, Shirras, and Mead, it was constructed in 1942 and dismantled four years later. Located 14 miles from the town of Hope, B.C., it was considered the most isolated of all internment camps. In fact, Tashme was about as *far* from hope as one could imagine. In total, approximately 2,636 Japanese Canadians were relocated to Tashme. The Ayukawa family arrived in July of 1945 and remained for approximately one year until they were forced to move east. The housing in Tashme consisted of hundreds of shacks, each approximately 28 ft. by 14 ft. Two families, with up to six members in each, usually shared one shack. Furthermore, several units shared a communal *ofuro* (Japanese-style bath), and three cabins usually shared an outdoor privy.²³⁵ Ellen Kimura's memories of Tashme as a child reflect these harsh living conditions: "We lived in a house—well, it was more like a shack actually. And I remember having to go to a community bath house since there were no toilet facilities."²³⁶

²³⁵ Discover Nikkei, "Life in the Canadian Internment and POW Camps."

²³⁶ Ellen and Robert Kimura, interview by author, Tampa, FL, March 11, 2011.

Though cameras were considered contraband for much of the internment, some internees managed to take pictures with personal box cameras or those borrowed from friends. In addition to my family's personal accounts, these pictures are an intimate, yet powerful representation of life during the internment years. Like my family's oral histories, they, too, tell stories. In contrast to the schematic, authoritative mappings and aerial photographs of the internment camps from *above*, these photos provide an experiential perspective of life *within* the camps. In other words, while aerial shots of the camp (Figure 2.16) provide a bloodless, schematic viewpoint of the internment experience, the Ayukawa family photos from Tashme put a human face on what Mona Oikawa coins a "cartography of violence." Kirsten McAllister, a Japanese Canadian *Sansei*, describes similar photos from internees at Tashme as a means of "visually reconfigur[ing] the bleak hopeless spaces of incarceration and invok[ing] a future," something that is integral to "the complex process of psychic survival."²³⁷

²³⁷ Kirsten Emiko McAllister, "Photographs of a Japanese Canadian Internment Camp: Mourning Loss and Invoking a Future," *Visual Studies* 21, no. 2 (2006): 133.



Figure 2.17. Vignettes of Shizuo and Natsue outside their “home” in Tashme. *Source:* Ayukawa family.

These two vignettes of my great-grandparents, Shizuo and Natsue, were taken outside their “home” in Tashme. For years, these photographs were framed and kept in my great-aunt Ellen’s home in Toronto. Nearly seventy years later, these images continue to preserve the memory of my family’s years in Tashme. In a sense, the very *framing* of these photographs is a recontextualisation of that experience. The backdrop of the shacks reinforces the fact that the Ayukawa family could never escape the physical presence of the camp housing. They were physically *framed* within the desolate camps, just as they continue to be framed in these vignettes today.

In this particular picture, my great-grandfather poses with his youngest son, Toru. Jokingly, he holds an icicle in his mouth, pretending to smoke a cigarette. My great-

grandmother, likewise, poses — smiling — for the camera. Upon finding these photographs, I was startled by their seemingly jovial demeanors. These images, however, are quite powerful. They demonstrate that, despite the terrible conditions in which they lived for years, the Ayukawa family still strove to find small glimpses of normalcy in their everyday lives. With their home and land now confiscated, the Ayukawa family continued to live in a state of uncertainty. Their home in Mission was replaced with a barren shack. In the dead of winter, icicles hung from the rooftop and freezing air must have crept in through the cracks of the houses. This picture provides a striking contrast to the formality of the Ayukawa family photo taken only five years earlier (Figure 2.1). Yet, even in times as desperate as these, the Ayukawa survived, they lived, they *smiled*.

The following candid picture of Shizuo playing with two of his sons, Nob and Toru, likewise, demonstrates the Ayukawa family's attempt to find hope and normalcy amidst seemingly hopeless circumstances. This image is particularly striking because it highlights the stark contrast between the confinement of the camp set against the backdrop of the open landscape in the distance.



Figure 2.18. Shizuo playing with sons in Tashme. *Source:* Ayukawa family.

Again, the physical structure of the shack takes on a distinct presence in the photograph (Figure 2.18). This recurring theme emphasizes the inescapability of the camp's confines. Beyond the Ayukawa boys is the image of a mountain in the background. As evident in the aerial shot introduced previously (Figure 2.16), the beautiful, majestic setting in which Tashme was built juxtaposed the very primitive, bleak circumstances of the barren camp.

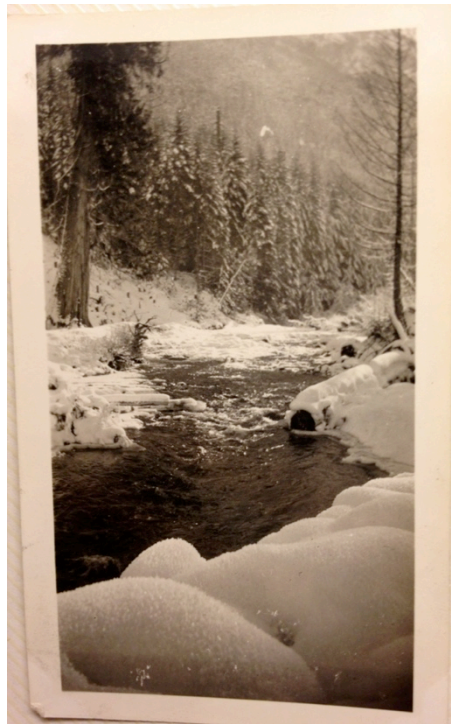


Figure 2.19. The pristine beauty of Tashme. *Source:* Ayukawa family album.

While looking through the Ayukawa family album, I came across a landscape photo of Tashme. Especially when considering the scarcity of film, it is interesting that this picture was taken of the natural pristine *beauty* of Tashme, rather than the harsh conditions to which they were subjected. In fact, upon finding the photo, my great-aunt Ellen recounted to me how “[she] just remembered the beautiful mountain behind the creek.”²³⁸ Perhaps, these are the kinds of images the Ayukawa family sought to remember years later—not the image of their family set against the backdrop of barren shacks. However, it is also important to

²³⁸ Ellen Kimura, conversation with author, January 19, 2013.

consider that perhaps the photos that remain in the Ayukawa family album are the only ones that survived government censorship.²³⁹ In Kirsten McAllister's analysis of photographs of Tashme, she was similarly struck by the number of landscape images taken by internees: "I found only two photographs that documented the harsh living conditions. In striking contrast, there were two photographs of a stream meandering through snow-covered banks in a mountain valley, which could easily be mistaken for an idyllic scene from the Canadian wilderness."²⁴⁰ This photograph (Figure 2.19), like those analyzed by McAllister, appears to "completely disavow the existence of the camp as well as what was happening to the Japanese Canadian community, carpeting over the degradation, humiliating treatment and painful losses."²⁴¹

At first glance, these pictures may suggest that life in the camps was far from traumatic. Yet, behind the smiles, lies a darker history, which for many years has been sanitized in Canada's collective memory. In the words of Kirsten McAllister, "Sixty years later, along with heavily censored letters, photographs are among the few surviving records made by internees during their three years of incarceration... For the postwar generation who know little about the camps, these photographs promise to offer glimpses into a world that many surviving internees still find it difficult to speak about."²⁴² Though many *Issei* and *Nisei* in my family fell silent about this period of their lives, these pictures bring the internment and its historical implications to life. As McAllister argues, "The act of

²³⁹ McAllister, "Photographs," 138.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 140.

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 146.

²⁴² *Ibid.*, 133.

photographing the camps offered the internees a way to visually re-configure the camps within their own terms.”²⁴³

These Ayukawa family photographs, in a sense, have shaped the narrative of their internment experience. As Tessa-Morris Suzuki explains, they “historiciz[e] memory” and create a “portable past.” Consequently, photographs travel over space and time, allowing subsequent generations to surround themselves with fragments of “personal history.”²⁴⁴ In her analysis of the Tashme photos, McAllister cites the work of film theorist Christian Metz. As she explains, “At the level of the image as a text, the photograph preserves what-was as a static unchanging representation by imposing ‘a timelessness’ and ‘immobility.’ The lost object is lovingly preserved as ‘dead.’” However, the power of the photograph impels the subject to “re-enter the flow of time and move onward towards the future, rather than following the loved one in death.”²⁴⁵ As McAllister describes, the photographic thus becomes mobile:

It moves through time between people and institutions as its status as a keepsake, piece of evidence and archival document continually changes. It is in this movement that it becomes possible to reimagine the camps as spaces of erasure, where the lives of the Japanese Canadians were frozen, removed from the flow of time and the changes of wartime society. As keepsakes as well as evidence, the photographs presuppose someone at a later moment looking back at the images of the camps.²⁴⁶

It is my hope that preserving these photos of the Ayukawa family will do just that. Though the *Issei* have passed, and many of the *Nisei* are no longer here to share their stories, these photos will allow my family and future generations of Ayukawa descendants to reenter the flow of time and remember those who have come before them.

²⁴³ McAllister, “Photographs,” 139.

²⁴⁴ Tessa Morris-Suzuki, *The Past Within Us: Media, Memory, History* (London: Verso, 2005), 86-88.

²⁴⁵ McAllister, “Photographs,” 152.

²⁴⁶ Ibid.

Through this discussion of my family's wartime experiences, I hope to demonstrate that the internment affected individuals differently, not only due to generational divides but also due in part to their age at the time of internment and the different roles they assumed within their family. In contrast to my great-aunt Ellen who was a young child during the internment, my grandmother was a teenager and, as the eldest among her siblings, assumed many responsibilities in maintaining stability within the family. As my great-aunt Ellen recounted to me:

I don't think I [resented the internment] because there were so many other families in the same boat. I think it was really, really difficult for our parents and they might have [resented it], but a lot of times, the Japanese— they take things in stride and they say that's life—*shikata ga nai* ("it can't be helped"). My mother never complained, but she had a hard life just like your grandma [Ryuko] had a hard life—a lot harder than me because I was at the bottom of the family.²⁴⁷

When my grandmother, Ryuko Mori, used to recount stories of the internment to me, she described the experience as an incredibly traumatic time in her life. The letter of apology from Prime Minister Mulroney in 1988 hung in her office as a constant reminder of the injustices she endured at the hands of the Canadian government.²⁴⁸ The photos I have found of her during the Ayukawas' internment at Tashme bring her stories to life.

²⁴⁷ Ellen and Robert Kimura, interview by author, Tampa, FL, March 11, 2011.

²⁴⁸ See Appendix G, My grandmother's copy of Prime Minister Mulroney's official apology.



Figure 2.20. Grandmother Ryuko in Tashme.
Source: Ayukawa family.

Unlike many of the Ayukawa siblings who were too young to fully realize the gravity of the internment experience, my grandmother spent her teenage years in the internment camps supporting her parents and younger siblings as they were uprooted time and time again. These photographs of her (Figure 2.20, 2.21) are powerful artifacts, for they were produced “at the moment of violation and degradation.”²⁴⁹



Figure 2.21. Ryuko holding youngest sibling Toru.

²⁴⁹ McAllister, “Photographs,” 139.

These photos of my grandmother will allow future generations of Ayukawas to learn her story, to see firsthand the injustices she endured, and to pay tribute to the legacy she has left behind. Thus, these photograph “enac[t] continuity.” As McAllister concludes, “those located in the past look forward to the future where others look back to a past that can never be fully known... the photograph invokes potentiality, the indeterminability of the future: the openness of what is yet to come and what is at stake each time in what we all ‘live and intend and apprehend.’”²⁵⁰ Through these memoirs and photographs, I hope to preserve the story of the Ayukawas’ strength and resilience amidst the destruction of the Japanese transnational community.

²⁵⁰ McAllister, “Photographs,” 152.

Chapter 3: Blending in “East of the Rockies”

Although the United States government permitted Japanese Americans to return to the West Coast before the end of the war, the Canadian government took a drastically different approach to resettlement. Within a year of the lifting of wartime restrictions in January of 1945, approximately half of Japanese American internees had returned to the West Coast.²⁵¹ Meanwhile, as the war neared an end, Canada’s wartime restrictions were renewed.²⁵² Without a permit from the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), Japanese Canadians were prohibited from the hundred-mile exclusion zone. Those who trespassed were subject to arrest.²⁵³

In the first portion of this chapter, I outline various measures taken by the Canadian government to disperse the Japanese Canadian population from the Interior of British Columbia. I will also discuss the efforts of the Co-operative Committee on Japanese Canadians (CCJC) to help “assimilate” Japanese Canadians into “Canadian” life. Though I do not discuss the U.S. government’s policy in detail, I do highlight important points at which its policy diverged from that of the Canadian government. Through my family’s story in the second portion of this chapter, I hope to offer a contesting narrative to the government’s policy of dispersal and assimilation.

The Planning Stages of Resettlement

Resettlement policies developed in Ottawa were largely driven by anti-Japanese sentiment that continued to dominate British Columbia. In order to appease the demands of

²⁵¹ Patricia Roy, “Lessons in Citizenship, 1945-1949: The Delayed Return of the Japanese to Canada’s Pacific Coast,” in *Nikkei in the Pacific Northwest: Japanese Americans & Japanese Canadians in the Twentieth Century*, eds. Louis Fiset and Gail M. Nomura (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005): 256.

²⁵² Robinson, *A Tragedy of Democracy*, 263.

²⁵³ *Ibid.*, 254.

some white racists and reassure their political support in the future, policymakers in Canada proceeded to victimize Japanese Canadians yet again.²⁵⁴ Thus, as Patricia Roy notes, it was not solely “Japanaphobia” or popular anti-Japanese sentiment in British Columbia that perpetuated the exclusion of Japanese Canadians, but rather the “atavistic ideas of federal politicians.”²⁵⁵ As Greg Robinson explains, British Columbian MPs (Members of Parliament) and local leaders “persisted in whipping up popular racism and brandishing threats of violence to blackmail Ottawa into violating rights of Canadian citizens of Japanese ancestry.”²⁵⁶ Though many considered mass deportation of Japanese Canadians the “ideal” solution, British Columbian politicians were forced to come to a consensus regarding the “Japanese problem.”²⁵⁷ Vancouver Mayor J.W. Cornett and Liberal MP A. W. Neill were proponents of deporting *all* individuals of Japanese origin to Japan following the war. In the words of Neill, “Let us at least take advantage of this one opportunity to correct our error and make for all time a white British Columbia and a civilized, Christian Canada.”²⁵⁸

Most British Columbian MPs, however, supported a more “moderate” solution of dispersing the Japanese Canadian community across the country.²⁵⁹ Although members of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) argued mass deportation resembled “Nazi tactics,” the general consensus among B.C. politicians was that Japanese Canadians should not be permitted to return to the West Coast. Liberal Party MP Ian Mackenzie and Conservative Party MP Howard Green were especially strong supporters of permanent exclusion from the coast. During his nomination speech in September of 1944, Mackenzie

²⁵⁴ Robinson, *A Tragedy of Democracy*, 286.

²⁵⁵ Roy, “Lessons in Citizenship,” 255.

²⁵⁶ Robinson, *A Tragedy of Democracy*, 288.

²⁵⁷ Patricia Roy, *The Triumph of Citizenship: The Japanese and Chinese in Canada, 1941-67* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2007), 120.

²⁵⁸ A.W. Neill, quoted in Roy, *The Triumph of Citizenship*, 121.

²⁵⁹ Robinson, *A Tragedy of Democracy*, 263.

stated: “It is the government’s plan to get these people out of B.C. as fast as possible. It is my personal intention, as long as I remain in public life, to see they never come back here. Let our slogan be for British Columbia: ‘No Japs from the Rockies to the seas.’”²⁶⁰ Likewise, Green once proclaimed, “Our stand is, and always has been, that we won’t have Japs in the province.”²⁶¹

Finally, on August 4, 1944 in a statement to the House of Commons, Prime Minister Mackenzie King formally announced a “solution” to the “Japanese problem.” He begins by explicitly framing the “problem” as one that concerned the entirety of the nation:

I should like now to say, and to emphasize the statement, that the government recognizes that the problem is one to be faced and dealt with not merely by British Columbia but by the whole country. The provinces have their particular sphere of responsibility. I wish to make clear, however, that the government does recognize that the problem is one to be faced by the whole of Canada as a Canadian problem.²⁶²

Although King’s comments were primarily calculated to avoid alienating B.C. voters, nevertheless, determining the fate of the Japanese Canadians after the internment ultimately became a “Canadian problem” that required cooperation amongst Canada’s provinces.

In addition to distributing responsibility across the nation, King outlines four key points in his policy proposal. First, he acknowledges “the concern felt by British Columbia at the possibility of once again having within its borders virtually the entire Japanese population of Canada.” As such, he explains that it was “accepted as a basic factor” that it would be “unwise and undesirable” not only for the people of British Columbia, but for the Japanese themselves to concentrate once again in the said province. Second, he expresses

²⁶⁰ Ian Mackenzie, “Ian Mackenzie Says Japs Must Go,” *Lethbridge Herald*, June 6, 1944, quoted in Robinson, *A Tragedy of Democracy*, 265.

²⁶¹ Howard Green quoted in Roy, “Lessons in Citizenship,” 260-261.

²⁶² Mackenzie King, “Statement by Prime Minister W.L. Mackenzie King on Post-War Japanese Policy, House of Commons, August 4, 1944,” Box 1, Folder 14, Co-operative Committee on Japanese Canadian Fonds, William Ready Division of Archives and Research Collections, McMaster University Library.

that “for the most part the people of the Japanese race... ha[d] remained loyal and ha[d] refrained from acts of sabotage and obstruction during the war.” As Tomoko Makabe points out, King’s dispersal policy clearly demonstrates that “the dominant element that led to the evacuation and internment was racial prejudice, and not a need for ‘national security.’”²⁶³ King even cites the fact that during the war no Canadian-born individuals of Japanese origin were charged with “an act of sabotage or disloyalty.” The irony of King’s statement highlights the Canadian government’s absurd circular logic. First, the internment was carried out despite the fact that Japanese Canadians were, in fact, “loyal.” Secondly, it would have been nearly impossible for Japanese Canadians to commit “acts of sabotage” while in internment camps. King continues by noting that those who showed disloyalty to Canada did not have the “privilege” of remaining in the country. This stipulation was not only for the protection of those who remained “loyal,” but also to eliminate all individuals who demonstrated allegiance to Japan, rather than Canada. In King’s third point, he states that immigration from Japan to Canada would be discontinued after the war.

King’s last point is particularly disturbing. Despite the injustices committed against Japanese Canadians throughout the internment years, his remark portrays the Canadian government as inherently benevolent:

...We cannot do less than treat such persons fairly and justly. The interests of Canada must be paramount, and its interests will be protected as the first duty of the government. It has not, however, at any stage of the war, been shown that the presence of a few thousand persons of Japanese race who have been guilty of no act of sabotage and who have manifested no disloyalty even during periods of utmost trial, constitutes a menace to a nation of almost twelve million people. Those who are disloyal must be removed. That is clear. Surely, however, it is not to be expected that the government will do other than deal justly with those who are guilty of no crime, or even of any ill intention. For the government to act otherwise

²⁶³ Makabe, Tomoko. *The Canadian Sansei*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998, 25.

would be an acceptance of the standards of our enemies and the negation of the purpose for which we are fighting.²⁶⁴

In King's statement to Parliament, he explicitly states that the majority of Japanese Canadians pose no real threat to "Canadian" society. In fact, he even emphasizes the fact that Japanese Canadians comprise only a fraction of Canada's population as a whole. Though, in reality, approximately 22,000 Japanese Canadians resided in Canada, King states that they numbered only a "few thousand" in comparison to the nation's population of twelve million. In contrast to wartime rhetoric that cast Japanese Canadians as dangerous "enemy aliens" "invading" British Columbia, King's statement suggests that the majority of Japanese Canadians were, in fact, harmless. Such rhetoric was most likely utilized in order to minimize the resistance of Anglo-Canadians in eastern provinces, such as Quebec and Ontario, where Japanese Canadians would soon resettle. King concludes by assuring his fellow Canadians that the government would do nothing other than "deal justly" with those who were "guilty of no crime." The irony of this statement is undeniably clear. Upon forcibly removing Japanese Canadians from their homes and into internment camps, the Canadian government confiscated their property, destroyed their livelihood, and irreparably damaged their community. Apparently, this is what constituted "dealing justly" with those who were "guilty of no crime."

In order to devise a resettlement policy that abided by the aforementioned principles, King sought to distinguish "loyal" from "disloyal" Japanese Canadians. First, he proposed establishing a "quasi-judicial commission" to examine "the background, loyalties and attitudes of all persons of Japanese race in Canada."²⁶⁵ Individuals deemed disloyal would be

²⁶⁴ King, "Statement on Post-War Japanese Policy."

²⁶⁵ Ibid.

subject to immediate deportation to Japan “as soon as... physically possible.”²⁶⁶ By contrast, “loyal” Japanese Canadians would be dispersed throughout Canada (so that their numbers would not be concentrated in any particular region). Prime Minister King claimed that this resettlement policy was necessary to ensuring that “feelings of racial hostility” would not reemerge. As he explains:

There is little doubt that, with cooperation on the part of the provinces, it can be made possible to settle the Japanese more or less evenly throughout Canada. They will have to settle in such a way that they must be able to pursue the settled lives to which they are entitled, and that they do not present themselves as an unassimilable bloc or colony which might again give rise to distrust, fear and dislike. It is the fact of concentration that has given rise to the problem.

The sound policy and the best policy for the Japanese Canadian themselves is to distribute their numbers as widely as possible throughout the country where they will not create feelings of racial hostility.²⁶⁷

Again, the ironic circularity of the government’s rhetoric is evident. As Roy Miki notes, “Once the language of a security threat was no longer tenable, other means were needed to disallow Japanese Canadians from returning to the B.C. coast. After all, in the logic of racialization giving coherence to Prime Minister Mackenzie King’s address... it was their very visible as a ‘group’ that accounted for the racism directed against.”²⁶⁸ Though Japanese Canadians were previously marked as “*unassimilable*” racial Others, the Canadian government now attempted to *assimilate* them into Anglo-Canadian society.

However, it is important to note that, by forcibly isolating Japanese Canadians in internment camps, the state was exacerbating the so-called “Japanese problem” of “inassimilability.” Torn from their homes and forced to live in the “ghost town” of B.C. for four or more years, Japanese Canadians had almost no interaction with mainstream

²⁶⁶ King, “Statement on Post-War Japanese Policy.”

²⁶⁷ Ibid.

²⁶⁸ Miki, “Turning In, Turning Out,” 34.

“Canadian” society. However, upon King’s decision to disperse the population, Japanese Canadians were forcibly put in a position to actually mix and integrate with mainstream “Canadians.” In this manner, the government is clearly backpedaling and reversing its own historic portrayals of the Japanese Canadian community. The absurd circular logic of the Canadian state demonstrates that racial ideology was instrumentalist and invoked strategically by politicians at various points in history when it was politically favorable to them. Interestingly, in King’s statement to the House of Commons, he initially refers to the population as “the Japanese,” yet shifts to the use of “Japanese Canadian” when announcing the policy of dispersal. As Roy Miki remarks:

In King’s language the persons “of Japanese race” who have been uprooted and disposed are now more benignly designated as “Japanese Canadians.” The shift in terms is certainly not an accident and not a reflection of enlightenment on King’s part, and instead conforms to the intent of the government’s dispersal program. The addition of “Canadian” in this instance may have softened overt racism, but it manifested a strategy of Canadianization that amounted to forced assimilation. Now you see them, now you don’t.²⁶⁹

Though Anglo-Canadians had a “responsibility” to accept Japanese Canadians into their communities, Japanese Canadians, likewise, had a “responsibility” to undergo a process of “Canadianization.” An editorial of the *New Canadian*, published on August 12, 1944, reads: “It will be sensible and patriotic for us to accept and cooperate in the situation with good grace.”²⁷⁰ As the only Japanese newspaper permitted by the government to publish during the war, the *New Canadian* served as the leadership of the Japanese Canadian community and endorsed King’s policies through its editorials. As Makabe notes, the group of *Nisei* who founded the paper “took the initiative in the movement for ‘cooperating with

²⁶⁹ Miki, “Turning in, Turning out,” 36.

²⁷⁰ *New Canadian*, August 12, 1944, quoted in Makabe, *The Canadian Sansei*, 26.

the government.”²⁷¹ Moreover, the Japanese Canadian community was encouraged to avoid what the *New Canadian* described as the “natural tendency” to live and work in the same area as other Japanese Canadians.²⁷² As Makabe remarks, “In King’s view the Japanese themselves were to blame for the ‘Japanese problem,’ and thus the solution was for the Japanese to voluntarily disperse themselves across the country and rapidly assimilate into the Anglo-Canadian society.”²⁷³

Thus, even though Japanese Canadians were previously marked as a racial Others, Japanese Canadians now had a responsibility to disown this “otherness.” The process of “blending in” that my family underwent, along with thousands of others, was one that involved rejecting their “Japaneseness” and embracing their new identities as “Canadians.”

To Repatriate or Resettle

Initially King asserted that “there [was] merit in maintaining a substantial consistency of treatment in [Canada and the United States].”²⁷⁴ He believed that “the situation in the United States in a great many essentials [was] the same as [their] own.”²⁷⁵ However, as events “south of the border” changed, so too did King’s intentions to maintain “consistency” with the U.S. In December 1944, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Ex Parte Endo* that the U.S. government did not possess the authority to detain loyal citizens indefinitely. Though it failed to explicitly denounce the constitutionality of race-based internment, this decision led to the lifting of exclusion orders on January 2, 1945. California governors and mayors subsequently encouraged the public to welcome Japanese Americans back to the West Coast.

²⁷¹ Makabe, *The Canadian Sansei*, 25.

²⁷² Makabe, *The Canadian Sansei*, 27.

²⁷³ *Ibid.*, 23.

²⁷⁴ King, “Statement on Post-War Japanese Policy.”

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

Finally, tolerance on the American West Coast “had begun to prevail.”²⁷⁶ Thus, as Greg Robinson argues, the reason behind the discrepancy in Canadian and U.S. policy was due to not only political differences, but constitutional ones as well. Unlike in the United States where the Bill of Rights protected Japanese Americans from certain constitutional violations, the Canadian common-law system “enshrined parliamentary supremacy.”²⁷⁷ As Robinson explains, the Canadian Supreme Court did not challenge the government’s renewal of emergency powers and, thus, even in peacetime, Japanese Canadians were subject to violations of their “fundamental liberties.”²⁷⁸

Fearing Japanese Canadians might expect to return to the West Coast just as Japanese Americans had, King quickly devised a “solution” to the Japanese “problem.”²⁷⁹ The final policy, which uprooted and displaced Japanese Canadians yet again, was dubbed the “repatriation or resettlement” policy. In February 1945, the Canadian Labour Department announced the issuing of “repatriation surveys” and, by April of 1945, the RCMP distributed them to all 15,000 remaining internees in British Columbia.²⁸⁰ The greatest irony of the repatriation policy was, of course, the fact that for the majority of individuals completing the survey, Japan was not home. Repatriation was a “euphemism,” notes Pamela Sugiman, for “a forced exile.” Citing Roy Miki and Cassandra Kobayashi in their work *Justice in Our*

²⁷⁶ As Robinson notes, it is important to note, that politicians’ political interests often influenced their “benevolent” treatment toward returning internees. California Governor Earl Warren’s call for public obedience on the West Coast was most likely a way to “[redeem] his tarnished reputation for civil rights” before his subsequent appointment as U.S. Chief Justice, 287.

²⁷⁷ Robinson, *A Tragedy of Democracy*, 287.

²⁷⁸ Ibid., 263.

²⁷⁹ Ibid., 265.

²⁸⁰ Ibid., 265.

Time, Sugiman writes “the ‘*patria*’ or country of birth for the majority of these citizens was Canada, so they could not in this sense, be ‘repatriated’ to Japan.”²⁸¹

Through clever rhetoric, the Canadian government attempted to entice Japanese Canadians to “repatriate” by offering not only free passage to Japan, but also immediate compensation from their forced property sales.²⁸² In addition, “repatriates” were offered the opportunity to remain in British Columbia until the war had ended. While Canadian officials denied that they pressured Japanese Canadians to “repatriate” to Japan, the Canadian government’s intentions were clear.²⁸³ Included with the repatriation survey was a statement from T.B. Pickersgill, the RCMP Commissioner of Japanese Placement:

This assured assistance from the government, as outlined in this notice, will mean to many who desire repatriation, relief from unnecessary anxiety and it will allow them to plan for their future, and that of their children, along economic, social, and cultural lines which they fear may be denied them were they to remain Canada.²⁸⁴

This statement sheds light on the fact that the government often deployed persuasive rhetoric to strategically encourage Japanese Canadians to choose deportation over resettlement. In the words of Roy Miki, “The subjects were offered a choice that was no choice; in other words, the federal scriptwriters had devised yet another language trap.”²⁸⁵ He argues that “the connotations of ‘dispersal’ were ominous and threatening, implying both that ‘repatriation’ would signify loyalty to Japan and that rejection of ‘dispersal’ would signify disloyalty to Canada.”²⁸⁶ While the description of “repatriation” appears to offer internees security and “relief from unnecessary anxiety,” those who opted for resettlement would wait

²⁸¹ Roy Miki and Cassandra Kobayashi. *Justice in Our Time: The Japanese Canadian Redress Settlement*. Vancouver: Talonbooks, 1991, quoted in Pamela Sugiman, “Unmaking a Transnational Community.”

²⁸² See Appendix H, “Notice to All Japanese Persons of Japanese Racial Origin.”

²⁸³ Robinson, *A Tragedy of Democracy*, 265.

²⁸⁴ T.B. Pickersgill, “Notice Concerning Voluntary Repatriation,” quoted in Robinson, *A Tragedy of Democracy*, 266.

²⁸⁵ Miki, “Turning In, Turning Out,” 34.

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 35.

an indefinite amount of time before receiving compensation for their confiscated property and assets.²⁸⁷ Though both options forced internees to face a second uprooting, many felt “repatriation” was the only option. In the words of Japanese Canadians living in Tashme who decided to “repatriate” to Japan:

We, the majority of whom are old, are returning to Japan because have been uprooted from the foundations which we have laid during the years of our stay in Canada, after having given the best years either directly or indirectly to the basic industries of B.C., and after having endeavored to live as respectable, peaceful, law-abiding citizens of Canada... Many of us have been in small trades and businesses, or were landowners, farmers, fishermen with our own boats and gears. These means of livelihood as well as our homes have been sold by the Custodian of Enemy Alien Property... Therefore, it is only for the above reasons and not with any act of disloyalty that we are returning to Japan.²⁸⁸

On March 12, 1945, a “Notice of Dispersal” written by T.B. Pickersgill was posted in the camps. All Japanese Canadians, ages 16 years and older, were forced to report to the RCMP their intent to repatriate or resettle. The notice emphasized that those who wished to remain in Canada had to “re-establish themselves East of the Rockies” as “best evidence of their intentions to co-operate” with the government.²⁸⁹ Internees were forced to quickly choose between repatriation and resettlement, often with little time to consult family members.²⁹⁰ Moreover, this decision was far more than simply choosing one’s preference for “returning” to Japan or staying in Canada. “Repatriation” would mean deportation to Japan and the permanent renunciation of Canadian citizenship.²⁹¹ In this manner, all legal ties with Canada would be severed. On the other hand, resettling would mean demonstrating “loyalty”

²⁸⁷ Robinson, *A Tragedy of Democracy*, 266.

²⁸⁸ “March 15, 1946 New Bulletin #4, written February 23, 1946,” Box 1, Folder 10 News Bulletins, Co-operative Committee on Japanese Canadian Fonds, William Ready Division of Archives and Research Collections, McMaster University Library.

²⁸⁹ See Appendix H, “Notice to All Persons of Japanese Racial Origin Now Resident in British Columbia.”

²⁹⁰ Robinson, *A Tragedy of Democracy*, 265.

²⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 269.

to Canada. However, in the words of Roy Miki, Japanese Canadians would be pledging loyalty “to a country that had violated their rights, disposed them, and had cast them as enemies of the state.”²⁹² Moreover, those who refused to complete the survey or accept immediate resettlement were deemed disloyal and subject to deportation.²⁹³ Initially, eighty-one percent of adults in British Columbia and fifteen percent of those who had already moved east agreed to deportation, while fewer than 1,000 Japanese Canadians volunteered for resettlement.²⁹⁴ As Makabe notes, “Under this policy, these ethnic persons called Japanese Canadians were in fact Japanese—at least they had to be either Canadians or Japanese and they could not be both.”²⁹⁵ This warped binary perpetuated by the state precluded the formation of a *Japanese Canadian* identity.²⁹⁶

Deciding whether to “repatriate” or resettle was a difficult choice for the Ayukawa family. For nearly five years, my family lived in isolation with no indication of what the future held. They lived in a state of “limbo”—removed from the normal flow of space and time. Their home, their land, and their livelihood vanished. Their identities as Japanese Canadians and their sense of belonging to Canada were called into question. With no radio, only censored communication, and virtually no outside contact with mainstream “Canadian” society, Japanese Canadians were cut off from the normal rhythm of their everyday lives. This is not to say, however, that this period of their lives was unchanging. The Ayukawa children, like thousands of other Japanese Canadian *Nisei*, grew up in the camps. Especially for the older siblings, such as my grandmother Ryuko and the eldest Ayukawa son Kaoru, the internment period was a time in which they grew to be strong adults. Nevertheless, it was a

²⁹² Miki, “Turning In, Turning Out,” 35.

²⁹³ Robinson, *A Tragedy of Democracy*, 266.

²⁹⁴ Ibid.

²⁹⁵ Makabe, *The Canadian Sansei*, 25.

²⁹⁶ Miki, “Turning In, Turning Out,” 30.

period of time during which my family's mobility was restrained—not only physically, but economically and socially, as well.

Though I do not have personal accounts from my family at this crucial time of their lives, the sentiments of the internees at Tashme seem reflective of their plight. Similar to the internees in Tashme, the Ayukawas lost both their home and property after it was confiscated by the Custodian of Enemy Alien Property. For the Ayukawa family, their land was a symbol of their sense of rootedness in British Columbia. My great-grandparents were “*Issei* pioneers” who cultivated the land from scratch. They brought the cultivation techniques they knew in Japan to establish a life for themselves and their children in Canada. Though they had experienced uprooting once before—when they left Kagoshima for Canada—this second uprooting must have been considerably more traumatic. As the Tashme internees remarked, they had been “uprooted from the foundations which [they] ha[d] laid during the years of [their] stay in Canada.” Likewise, the Ayukawas “[gave] the best years either directly or indirectly to the basic industries of B.C.” and “endeavored to live as respectable, peaceful, law-abiding citizens of Canada.”²⁹⁷

Regardless of whether they chose “repatriation” or resettlement, Japanese Canadians were to be uprooted once again. On the one hand, few opportunities existed in war-torn Japan. Having been recently razed by two nuclear bombs, much of Japan was in a state of destruction. The high prices and scarcity of food, likewise, offered little hope for “repatriates.” For the *Issei* who decided to return, Japan was now a land they would not recognize. It was not the “old Japan” they knew thirty years ago. Likewise, as Sunahara remarks, “For the *Nisei*, postwar Japan was a society completely foreign to them and in

²⁹⁷ “March 15, 1946 New Bulletin #4, written February 23, 1946,” Box 1, Folder 10 News Bulletins, Co-operative Committee on Japanese Canadian Fonds, William Ready Division of Archives and Research Collections, McMaster University Library.

which they were seen and treated as aliens.”²⁹⁸ On the other hand, for those who opted to resettle “East of the Rockies,” this period would be an opportunity to reclaim lost time. For over five years, Japanese Canadians were deprived of their livelihoods. Moving east and integrating into their new communities would be an opportunity for growth and economic mobility.

Although Shizuo and Natsue Ayukawa initially desired to return to Japan, my grandmother Ryuko and her brother Kaoru (Midge Ayukawa’s late husband) adamantly insisted on remaining in Canada. In the words of Ellen Kimura:

[Ryuko and Kaoru] were old enough to voice their opinions. My father had opted to [return] until they changed their minds. I don’t think my mom had that much of a say; [my mother] didn’t know the language [English], so what could she do if my father said he was going to go back? Also, I think the Japanese that returned were discriminated against in Japan. It’s as if you don’t fit in there or [in Canada].²⁹⁹

After being released from the POW camp at Angler, Robert Kimura’s father, Yoshikazu Kimura, likewise initially decided to “repatriate.” However, as my great-uncle explained, “My father started realizing, ‘what did they have in Japan?’ The war was over, and through the grapevine, they could hear that people were starving there.”³⁰⁰

Though the experiences of many of the *Nisei* were distinct during the internment years, one trend in the resettlement years became evident through the oral histories with my family members. By the time the war neared an end, many *Nisei* were no longer children. They were young adults finding their voices. For the *Nisei*, Canada was home, and, though many *Issei* may have longed for the Japan they once knew, their children’s sentiments were different. Like my grandmother and great-uncle Kaoru who convinced the Ayukawa family

²⁹⁸ Sunahara, *Politics of Racism*, 127.

²⁹⁹ Ellen and Robert Kimura, interview by author, Tampa, FL, March 8, 2011.

³⁰⁰ Ibid.

to remain in Canada, my great-aunt Midge's siblings likewise resisted the *Issei's* wishes. As my great-aunt Midge recounted to me:

My father had from the beginning of the Pacific War felt that it was a stupid war and that Japan had entered a war they couldn't possibly win. My brothers at first were quite willing to sign the papers saying they would go with the family to Japan. Then they changed their minds and refused. By then my dad realized he could no longer order them around and in fact was becoming dependent on them.³⁰¹

Thus, the *Nisei's* strong insistence that they remain in Canada ultimately determined the fate not only of my great-aunt Midge's family, but of the Ayukawa family, as well.

With Japan's defeat imminent and the reality of deportation frightening, many Japanese Canadians reconsidered their decision to repatriate. In the period since surveys were administered, 4,000 sought to change their status from "repatriates" to "resettlers." As many expressed, they initially signed the surveys after "submit[ing] to what [they] felt to be government pressure."³⁰² Labour Minister Mitchell agreed to consider some petitions on a case-by-case basis, but only "to avoid embarrassment to the government."³⁰³ However, to determine Japanese Canadian "loyalty," Mitchell only considered petition cases that were submitted prior to Japan's surrender on September 2, 1945.³⁰⁴ In January 1946, the Canadian government replaced the *War Measures Act* with the National Emergency Transitional Powers Act, which justified the continued exclusion and deportation of Japanese Canadians. Not only did this bill place restrictions on Japanese Canadians returning to the West Coast, owning land or starting a business, but it also legalized the deportation and denationalization

³⁰¹ Midge Ayukawa, email message to author, May 4, 2011.

³⁰² Letter from Lemon Creek Japanese to CCJC, October 29, 1945, Folder 4 1945 Minutes, Co-operative Committee on Japanese Canadian Fonds, William Ready Division of Archives and Research Collections, McMaster University Library.

³⁰³ Robinson, *A Tragedy of Democracy*, 267.

³⁰⁴ Ibid.

of “repatriates.”³⁰⁵ In this manner, the state was not reversing its policies, but instead using “legal technologies” to continue the victimization of Japanese Canadians.³⁰⁶

Despite protests of activist groups, such as the Japanese Canadian Committee for Democracy (JCCD) and the Co-operative Committee on Japanese Canadians (CCJC), the Supreme Court ultimately upheld deportation orders. On February 20, 1946, the Canadian Supreme Court Justices unanimously ruled that the deportation of Japanese aliens and naturalized Japanese Canadians was, in fact, legal.³⁰⁷

In May of 1946, approximately 4,000 Japanese Canadians left for war-torn Japan aboard “repatriation ships.” More than half of the “repatriates” were born in Canada, and two-thirds were Canadian citizens.³⁰⁸ British Columbian MP Ian Mackenzie’s desire for “no Japs from the Rockies to the seas” was finally becoming a reality.³⁰⁹ As my great-aunt Midge recounted, “I had two really great friends in the camps who went to Japan with their parents in 1946. They used to write and tell me how awful Japan was. They were so unhappy...I was so glad that my parents had decided not to go to Japan.”³¹⁰ By December 1946, over 13,000 internees had resettled “East of the Rockies.” Only 900 of the sick and elderly remained at the New Denver internment camp. On January 24, 1947, Prime Minister Mackenzie officially cancelled the repatriation program. However, by that time, less than one-third of the 1942 population of Japanese Canadians remained in British Columbia.³¹¹ It was not until April 1, 1949, nearly four years after Japan’s surrender, that all restrictions on Japanese Canadians were removed. Through the deportation of approximately 4,000

³⁰⁵ Robinson, *A Tragedy of Democracy*, 268.

³⁰⁶ Oikawa, “Cartographies of Violence,” 44.

³⁰⁷ See Appendix I, “Orders to Deport Japs Upheld.”

³⁰⁸ Makabe, *The Canadian Sansei*, 24.

³⁰⁹ Robinson, *A Tragedy of Democracy*, 269.

³¹⁰ Midge Ayukawa, email message to author, May 4, 2011.

³¹¹ Sunahara, *The Politics of Racism*, 143.

See Appendix J, Distribution of Japanese in Canada—1942 to January 1, 1947.

Japanese Canadians, the government succeeded in reducing the size of the Japanese Canadian population. In Stephanie Bangarth's analysis of "repatriation," she quotes a professor at the University of Toronto who once stated that the issue of deportation was depicted as "racial indigestion" which could be resolved only by "swallow[ing]" the minority group.³¹² In this manner, by enticing Japanese Canadians to leave Canada, it would be easier to essentially "swallow," or assimilate, the smaller remaining population into Anglo-Canadian society.

What is most disturbing about Canada's policy is that the options were restricted to *repatriation* or *resettlement*. Returning home was never an option. Home for the Ayukawa family was Mission, B.C. That home along with their berry farm—which was confiscated by the Canadian government and sold at just a fraction of its worth—was a place to which they could never return. As Tomoko Makabe remarks, the "repatriation or resettlement" policy "not only removed members of the community by physically dispersing them, but it also destroyed their organized communities by breaking up their closely integrated institutions and associations."³¹³ For thousands of de-employed Japanese Canadian fishermen who would never return to the coast and families such as the Ayukawas whose land had been confiscated, resettlement also meant a permanent destruction of their livelihood and way of life. Though the decision to intern Japanese Canadians with the outbreak of World War II was a blatant case of institutionalized racism, the post-internment policy of resettlement was likewise an institutional mechanism utilized to legalize the destruction of the Japanese Canadian community. As my great-aunt Midge explained in the inaugural address of the Japanese Canadian National Museum, "By confiscating all their property and continuing the

³¹² Stephanie D. Bangarth, *Voices Raised in Protest: Defending Citizens of Japanese Ancestry in North America, 1942-49*, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2008), 92.

³¹³ Makabe, *The Canadian Sansei*, 23.

ban of Japanese Canadians from the West Coast until April 1, 1949, the ultimate destruction of this ethnic community was achieved.”³¹⁴

The government’s policy of dispersal was a form of historical violence that was, arguably, equally as threatening to individuals of Japanese origin. As Makabe explains, “Dispersal was synonymous with assimilation... It was commonly accepted that minorities—visible or otherwise—could and should be assimilated.”³¹⁵ Resettlement, though portrayed by the state as a benevolent process involving the integration of Japanese Canadians into the fabric of “Canadian” life, was inherently a process of discrimination and subordination. Not only does assimilation assume that innate differences exist between Anglo-Canadians and Japanese Canadians, but it also assumes that the majority—Anglo-Canadians—was superior to the minority—Japanese Canadians. Makabe remarks that the prevailing view among policymakers and the “liberal-minded public” was that “[i]n order to be assimilated... they must become less visible, and thus must be geographically dispersed.”³¹⁶ It is important to note, however, that their racial and phenotypic “visibility” continued to distinguish them as racial Others.

Though the government’s policy of resettlement appears to be “top-down,” it was also very much “bottom-up” in that the nation was collectively called upon to assist in assimilating the displaced minority. In particular, the efforts of the Co-operative Committee on Japanese Canadians (CCJC) mirrored King’s policies. A Toronto-based umbrella organization founded in June of 1943, the CCJC consisted of approximately twenty-five individual organizations dedicated to protecting the rights of Japanese Canadians. In

³¹⁴ Midge Ayukawa, et al., *Re-shaping Memory, Owning History: Through the Lens of Japanese Canadian Redress*. Burnaby, B.C.: Japanese Canadian National Museum, 2002.

³¹⁵ Makabe, *The Canadian Sansei*, 23.

³¹⁶ Ibid.

addition to “liberal-minded professionals,” many of its members belonged to Canadian Christian organizations. As early as 1943, the CCJC began planning for the eventual integration of Japanese Canadians following their release from the internment camps. They believed “resettlement, and resettlement alone” was the only “hopeful solution” to the “Japanese Canadian problem.”³¹⁷ As Ann Gomer Sunahara explains, “The resettlement of Japanese Canadians east of the Rocky Mountains appealed to the assimilationist social ideals of the committee members.”³¹⁸ In fact, liberals believed that racism would essentially “disappear” once non-white minorities geographically dispersed and assimilated themselves into Anglo-Canadian society.³¹⁹ Consequently, CCJC members sought to help Japanese Canadians “mix with other Canadians” and assimilate into “a wider Canadian social life.”³²⁰

Roy Miki takes a critical approach to the CCJC’s work and describes their values as more reflective of a “missionary approach” than “collaboration between equals.”³²¹ This sentiment is particularly salient in a pamphlet created by the National Interchurch Advisory Committee. The cover of the pamphlet “Planning Resettlement of Japanese Canadians,” reads: “Loyalty to a country never has been and is not a matter of biological inheritance: it is the product of education and environment. A good Canadian is one who is loyal to the country and to our creed of liberty and democracy.”³²² This statement suggests that, regardless of their “biological” or racial differences, Japanese Canadians could become

³¹⁷ National Interchurch Advisory Committee, “Planning Resettlement of Japanese Canadians,” April 1944, Box 1, Folder 18, Cooperative Committee on Japanese Canadian Fonds, William Ready Division of Archives and Research Collections, McMaster University Library.

³¹⁸ Sunahara, *Politics of Racism*, 132.

³¹⁹ Ibid.

³²⁰ CCJC Reports, Box 1, Folder 12, Cooperative Committee on Japanese Canadian Fonds, William Ready Division of Archives and Research Collections, McMaster University Library.

³²¹ Roy Miki, *Redress: Inside the Japanese Canadian Call for Justice*. Vancouver: Raincoast, 2004, 106.

³²² National Interchurch Advisory Committee, “Planning Resettlement of Japanese Canadians.”

“good Canadian[s]” with the help of Anglo-Canadian society.³²³ In this manner, assimilationist ideals were most often cast in a light of condescension, rather than equality. As the pamphlet explains, resettlement would not only “preclude the formation of ‘colonies,’” but also help Japanese Canadians be “re-absorbed into productive life.” This suggests that, in creating opportunities for Japanese Canadians to live as “normal Canadians in normal Canadian communities,” the CCJC and its member organizations were also aiding mainstream Anglo-Canadian society thrive economically. As the pamphlet states, by helping them with their English, assisting them in securing housing and employment, and encouraging mainstream society to welcome Japanese Canadians into their communities, homes, and churches, Anglo-Canadians could take part in the “thorough-going Canadianization” of Japanese Canadians.³²⁴ In turn, Japanese Canadians were essentially forced to erase “shreds of any Japaneseness.”³²⁵

Responsibility was placed not only in the hands of Anglo-Canadians to accept Japanese Canadians into their communities, but also in the hands of Japanese Canadians themselves to proactively seek out ways of becoming “Canadian.” However, in telling my family’s story, I seek to contest the dominant narrative of the government’s efforts to control, disperse, and assimilate the Japanese Canadian community. In response to the efforts from *above* to assimilate Japanese Canadians, my family demonstrated strength and resilience from *below*.

³²³ See Appendix K, National Interchurch Advisory Committee pamphlet.

³²⁴ National Interchurch Advisory Committee, “Planning Resettlement of Japanese Canadians.”

³²⁵ Bangarth, *Voices Raised in Protest*, 90.

Starting a New Life “East of the Rockies”

The feeling of uprootedness was now a familiar one for the Ayukawa family. Following their release from Tashme, they experienced a “second uprooting” with the move east.³²⁶ Between July of 1946 and September of 1947, my family relocated several times throughout Manitoba—first to Transcona, then to Selkirk, and finally to West Kildonan, Winnipeg where they resided until March of 1949. By the time restrictions were officially lifted on April 1 of that year, most Japanese Canadians had no desire to return to the West Coast.³²⁷ In fact, reestablishing a life in B.C. was nearly impossible for my family, just as it was for thousands of other Japanese Canadian families. Unlike Japanese American internees who could return to their homes on the West Coast, thousands of Japanese Canadians, like the Ayukawa family, were now essentially homeless. Japanese Canadians also found that new opportunities existed in the east unlike the West Coast, which was still largely plagued by anti-Japanese sentiment.³²⁸ There was no other choice but to begin rebuilding their lives.



Figure 3.1. Shizuo with sons, Jefferson St., Winnipeg. *Source:* Ayukawa family.



Figure 3.2. Natsue holding Toru. *Source:* Ayukawa family.

³²⁶ Pamela Sugiman, “Passing Time, Moving Memories: Interpreting Wartime Narratives of Japanese Canadian Women,” *Social History* 36, no. 73 (2004): 54.

³²⁷ Roy, “Lessons in Citizenship,” 267.

³²⁸ *Ibid.*

During these years, my great-grandfather, Shizuo, worked summers in a sawmill in British Columbia, but would return home for the winters (Figure 3.1). My great-grandmother, Natsue, spent her days working on a vegetable farm in Winnipeg, often bringing along my great-uncle Toru, who was then just a toddler (Figure 3.2). The eldest Ayukawa son Kauro, though still in high school, worked to bring electricity into various farms around Winnipeg (Figure 3.3).



Figure 3.3. Eldest and youngest Ayukawa brothers, Kaoru and Toru. *Source:* Ayukawa family.



Figure 3.4. Grandmother Ryuko with siblings, Sumiko, Nob, Hiro, Ellen. *Source:* Ayukawa family.

Meanwhile, the eldest Ayukawa daughters, including my grandmother Ryuko and her sister Sumiko worked as “housegirls,” in which they would live with and provide domestic service for Anglo-Canadian families (Figure 3.4). Japanese Canadian domestic workers were hired not only by married white women and men, but also by single white women who desired the help of a “Japanese maid.” As Mona Oikawa explains, this phenomenon provided an opportunity for white female employers to “reproduce white bourgeois femininity” in

relation to their racialized employees.³²⁹ This occurrence contrasts the conventional image of the white male British Columbian politicians who had perpetuated racial hostility towards the Japanese Canadians. My grandmother used to recount to me the humiliation she felt working for one such employer who insisted my grandmother turn down her bed each night. In this manner, resettlement may have promoted the integration of Japanese Canadians into Anglo-Canadian society, but it was by no means an indication that the underlying racial hierarchy had been cast aside.

Nonetheless, some members of my family remarked that, as children, they felt a sense of acceptance among their white peers. As my great-aunt Ellen explained, after moving east, she did not observe an obvious racial divide. This was comment was particularly striking considering she was often the only ethnically Japanese student in her class (Figure 3.5).



Figure 3.5. Ellen Kimura in class. *Source:* Ayukawa family.
Front, center, Ellen Kimura

However, my great-aunt's decision to adopt an English name, "Ellen," rather than her Japanese name Shizuo, suggests that perhaps subconsciously she felt pressure to assimilate. "I did have many *hakujin* (white) friends," she remarked. "But they weren't the wealthy

³²⁹ Oikawa, *Cartographies of Violence*, 189.

white. We lived across the tracks.”³³⁰ This comment suggests that despite visible ethnic differences, many Japanese Canadians found commonalities with Anglo-Canadians of the same socio-economic status (Figure 3.6).



Figure 3.6. Ellen Kimura with her best friend in Winnipeg. *Source:* Ayukawa family.

The trend of searching for a sense of belonging among Anglo-Canadian society was evident in the recollections of my great-aunt Midge, as well. When asked if she had been ashamed of her Japanese roots, she responded:

When I was a kid I was proud of it—but after the war when I lived in Hamilton at first I hated being Japanese. I felt as if I was responsible for the Pacific War and people thought so too. But the kids at school were very nice and accepted me and I made a lot of good friends—I was surprised! But I was careful and tried to appear as “white” as them.³³¹

This notion of appearing as “white” as the rest of Anglo-Canadian society was particularly striking. Although the notion of “blending in” appears to be passive in nature, I argue that my family’s effort to “blend in” was an *active* attempt to achieve mobility in the post-internment years. While assimilating Japanese Canadians into mainstream “Canadian” society was a fantasy of the state, the act of “blending” actually preserved the agency of my

³³⁰ Ellen and Robert Kimura, interview by author, Tampa, FL, March 8, 2011.

³³¹ Midge Ayukawa, email message to author, May 4, 2011.

family, along with thousands of other Japanese Canadians. Strategically “blending in” was a way to participate in “Canadian” livelihood, to achieve social mobility, and, ultimately, to ensure that future generations would *thrive*.

Reclaiming Lost Time: Erasing the Image of the Victim



Figure 3.7. My “mama” Ryuko.
Source: Ayukawa family.

This image of my grandmother Ryuko provides a stark contrast to the photograph taken just a few years earlier against the backdrop of Tashme’s confines (Figure 2.20). With the boundless horizon, my grandmother appears strong, confident and *free*. As the eldest of the Ayukawa siblings, my grandmother Ryuko eventually journeyed east to find new opportunity in Toronto. In Japanese, the translation of her name 竜子 is “dragon child,” which is particularly fitting for my grandmother: she was strong, fearless, and independent. As a young woman in her teens, she not only dissuaded her parents from returning to Japan, but also encouraged the rest of her family to eventually follow her to Toronto. In fact,

Toronto soon became a primary destination for resettlement, and by 1948, the city's population of Japanese Canadians had reached approximately 3,800.³³²

In this manner, my grandmother embodies the image of the strong, resilient Japanese Canadian—the image of the Japanese Canadian not as a victim, but as an individual with agency. Despite victimization by the Canadian government and years of confinement and humiliation, she eventually achieved great success. She demonstrated how many Japanese Canadians triumphed over their circumstances and strove with great determination to make a new life not only for themselves, but their children, the *Sansei*, and grandchildren, the *Yonsei*. Rather than reminisce on the past—on what *could* have been—she looked forward and used the injustices of the past only as experiences that would empower her in the future. The time lost during the years of internment she reclaimed in the post-war years.



Figure 3.8. My grandmother, Ryuko, working in Toronto.
Source: Ayukawa family.

³³² Makabe, *The Canadian Sansei*, 26.

Though she never had the opportunity to attend college, my grandmother worked her way up the ladder—first as a factory worker and later a bookkeeper at a grocery store chain. As evident in the previous photograph, my grandmother embraced new opportunities for work despite the noticeable racial divide (Figure 3.8). Though the government’s resettlement policy attempted to essentially make the Japanese Canadian community “invisible,” it is clear that Japanese Canadians were still very much “visible” in Anglo-Canadian society. The three white employees keep their distance, while my grandmother, working alone at her desk, smiles. The racial “othering” that is clearly taking place in this photograph is an eerie reminder of the adversities many Japanese Canadians still faced “East of the Rockies.”



Figure 3.9. Ryuko with female colleagues. *Source:* Ayukawa family.

My grandmother worked for several years as a bookkeeper before eventually beginning a business with my grandfather, Robert Mori. They met on “a streetcar named desire,” as she once recounted to me. My grandfather waited to take the same streetcar as my grandmother everyday on the way home from work. They were married in Toronto on March 7, 1954. The pictures of my grandparents on their wedding day depict their efforts to *actively* “blend in” to Anglo-Canadian society. Though they were not Christian, my grandparents were married in a church and are pictured alongside a priest (Figure 3.10).

Perhaps, having a “traditional” westernized wedding was one way they could adopt identities as Japanese *Canadians*.



Figure 3.10. My grandparents on their wedding day.
Source: Mori family.
Front, center, Ryuko Mori.
Back, center, Robert Mori.



Figure 3.11. Ryuko and Robert Mori,
March 7, 1954. *Source:* Mori family.

The success story of my grandparents’ business reflects the upward mobility achieved by many Japanese Canadians in the post-war years. However, without initial assistance, such success may not have been possible. As Ann Gomer Sunahara explains, “The Jews were often the first employers and landlords of the Japanese at a time when employing or renting to ‘Japs’ meant social condemnation by local patriots.”³³³ Moreover, as she points out, “To the Jews who helped Japanese Canadians, what was happening to the Japanese in Canada and to the Jews in Europe were two sides of the same coin.”³³⁴ My great-aunt Midge echoed Sunahara’s sentiments, as she described many Jews in private businesses and companies as

³³³ Sunahara, *The Politics of Racism*, 76.

³³⁴ *Ibid.*, 75.

being especially “sympathetic.”³³⁵ In fact, upon moving east, my grandfather, Robert Mori, found employment in Toronto working in a sewing factory in Toronto run by a Jewish owner. The experience he gained in this factor provided my grandparents with the foundation necessary to eventually design and manufacture their own nylon safety harnesses. Though neither my grandmother nor my grandfather had the opportunity to finish school (for my grandfather, this included high school), their business, Mori Safety, grew to become an extremely successful enterprise in Toronto. Started as a small business in my grandparents’ basement, Mori Safety eventually grew to become a large manufacturer and distributor of safety belts and was eventually bought out by North Safety Products (Honeywell) in 1988. My grandparents’ nylon harness designs are still widely used today.³³⁶



Figure 3.12. A new life in Toronto. *Source:* Mori family.

³³⁵ Midge Ayukawa, email message to author, May 4, 2011.

³³⁶ Mori Safety nylon harness designs cited in Keoki Jackson and Dava Newman, “Adaptive Effects of Spaceflight as Revealed by Short-Term Partial Weight Suspension,” *Aviation, Space, and Environmental Medicine* 71, no. 9 (2000) http://web.mit.edu/aeroastro/www/people/dnewman/pdfs/djn_paper2.17.pdf (accessed April 12, 2013).

Though there was no indication of what the future held for them, my grandparents were both the first in their families to move east to Toronto. Perhaps it was their wartime experiences that instilled in them a willingness to take risks, an entrepreneurial spirit, and a strong determination to achieve success. Despite their visibility as *racial* Others, my grandparents sought ways to “blend in” *culturally* for economic and social mobility. In the previous picture (Figure 3.12), they are dressed in “typical” 1950s attire and appear to have adopted a very “typical” “Canadian” lifestyle. In this manner, the pictures of my family in the post-internment years hide the years of struggle and humiliation they faced in the camps. They appear resilient, free and perseverant. Through my family’s photos, I hope to erase the image of the *passive, victimized* Japanese Canadians. In many ways, their *active* effort to succeed in the post-internment years allowed them to become *victorious*, despite the years of hardship they endured.

The story of my great-aunt Midge, likewise, sheds light on the mobility of many Japanese Canadian *Nisei*. After the war, she and her family moved to Neys, Ontario, where they lived in an ex-German prisoner of war camp for a short period of time. By September 1946, she settled in Hamilton, Ontario and went on to receive a Bachelor and Master of Science in Chemistry, in addition to a Bachelor and Master of Arts in History at McMaster University. As she recounted, it was initially a difficult transition moving east:

During the war years, there were periods when I was bewildered (e.g. when my father had been taken away) and when I had to readjust to a new life among strangers in post-war Hamilton. But I think I have managed to survive it all without very much damage to my psyche. I suppose it is my innate nature to be cheerful, and to survive! Or do you think a happy loving childhood gives one an inner strength?³³⁷

³³⁷ Midge Ayukawa, email message to author, May 4, 2011.

Though she may not have had a “happy loving childhood,” like many of my family members, my great-aunt Midge achieved great success. In the post-war years, she practiced as a chemist at the National Research Council in Ottawa. Eventually, her desire to explore Japanese Canadian history led her to pursue a career as a historian. Her Ph.D dissertation, which she completed at the age of sixty-five at the University of Victoria, is now published as *Hiroshima Immigrants in Canada, 1891-1941*. Midge has become one of the most well known scholars of Japanese Canadian history in the *Nikkei* community.

Interestingly, members of my family also remarked that, in the post-internment years, both the *Issei* and *Nisei* became more open-minded. My great-uncle, Robert Kimura, expressed a sense of gratitude for the opportunities his family was afforded after the war: “I tell my *hakujin* (white) friends, it’s the best thing that happened to me personally because it opened my mind; there’s more than Little Tokyo. It was the worst thing that happened to my parents, but even later my mother said that Canada is the best country in the world. They have everything, so no one should complain.”³³⁸ Though the internment camps might appear to be the only places of confinement for Japanese Canadians, the remark of my great-uncle, Robert Kimura, suggests that individuals may have felt confined living in an entirely Japanese community in B.C. Prior to the war, while living on Powell Street, my great-uncle thought that was “the whole world.” But after, he found that was not the case. He remarked, “There was a whole wide country left.”³³⁹ This comment was particularly striking when considering the experience of the Kimura family. Not only was my great-uncle’s family separated for the entirety of the war, but his father was one of the few sent to a POW camp. Despite these conditions, many Japanese Canadians considered moving “East of the Rockies”

³³⁸ Ellen and Robert Kimura, interview by author, Tampa, FL, March 8, 2011.

³³⁹ Robert Kimura, “Sharing Your Stories of the War Years.”

an opportunity they would have never experienced had it not been for Canada's resettlement policy. Canada, after all, was home. Being "Canadian" is something each interviewed member of my family celebrated. By strategically "blending in" in the post-war years, my family embraced many opportunities to *reclaim* lost time.

Also critical to the erasure of the image of the victimized Japanese Canadians was the fight for compensation of confiscated property. On July 18, 1947, the Canadian government established the Royal Commission on Japanese Property Losses, more commonly referred to as the Bird Commission, to address claims for Japanese Canadian property losses. The Ayukawa family was one of two hundred families represented by a well-known Jewish attorney, Saul Cherniack, who worked for the Co-operative Committee on Japanese Canadians (CCJC).³⁴⁰ The Ayukawa family fonds in Library and Archives Canada (LAC) document Saul Cherniack's fight for compensation of the Mission property. In a letter dated October 7, 1947, Cherniack addressed my great-grandfather, Shizuo Ayukawa, informing him that he had a "proper claim to make before the Commission."³⁴¹ In fact, the greatest documented cases of fraud took place in the Fraser Valley, "where the custodian had sold off properties to the Veterans Land Act administrator for barely half their value."³⁴²

From December 3, 1947 to March 5, 1950, the Bird Commission brought 1,434 claims to court. The total of sales for the claimants' property, cars, household goods, etc.—mostly handled by the Custodian of Enemy Affairs—totaled \$2,591,456. However, the

³⁴⁰ Cherniack, *Canada and the Japanese Canadians*, 6.

³⁴¹ Saul Cherniack to Shizuo Ayukawa, October 7, 1947, Ayukawa Family Fonds, LAC.

See Appendix L, Letter from Cherniack to Ayukawa.

³⁴² Robinson, *Tragedy of Democracy*, 285.

See Appendix M, Ayukawa Farm Veterans' Land Act Farm Appraisal Report.

actual claims amount was approximately \$7 million.³⁴³ In the end, the net claims were reduced to \$4 million and a settlement for \$800,000 was reached. As documented in the Ayukawa family fonds, an additional \$552.57 was finally awarded to my great-grandfather on December 14, 1950 for their property in Mission.³⁴⁴ Despite protests by the Co-operative Committee on Japanese Canadians (CCJC) and the National Japanese Canadians Citizens' Association (NJCCA) to "remedy the injustice suffered by the claimants," Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent's reply "effectively killed the issue": "The government has concurred in the recommendations [of the Bird Commission] and money has been made available to meet the claims. In carrying out the recommendations of Mr. Justice Bird we feel we have discharged our obligation to both the Japanese Canadians and to the general public."³⁴⁵ As Ann Gomer Sunahara remarks, "The matter, as far as the government was concerned was closed."³⁴⁶

Issei to Yonsei: Generational Change

The post-internment years, while marked by great success for some Japanese Canadians, were also marked by a noticeable loss of "Japaneseness." In trying to reclaim time and claim a sense of belonging, many Japanese Canadians focused on economic mobility for the survival of their families, rather than maintaining "Japanese" culture.

³⁴³ "The terms of reference for the Commission were extremely limited. The items to be considered were *only* those which came into the possession of the Custodian and the loss to be assessed was the difference between the fair market value of the goods *as at the time of* the sale, loss, destruction or theft, and the amounts actually received," Cherniack, *Canada and the Japanese Canadians*, 10.

³⁴⁴ Ayukawa Family Fonds, LAC

³⁴⁵ St. Laurent to Rev. James Finlay, August 3, 1950, Department of Finance Papers, vol. 506, Public Archives of Canada (PAC), quoted in Sunahara, *Politics of Racism*, 160.

³⁴⁶ Sunahara, *Politics of Racism*, 160.

The wartime incarceration made the *Nisei* “self-conscious and ashamed of their Japanese heritage for a long period,” Midge explained. “Many avoided other Japanese Canadians.”³⁴⁷ This was most likely exacerbated by the stipulation that, in moving East, Japanese Canadians neither work nor live near each other. As Ellen Kimura remarked, “After marriage and having children, we didn’t send them to Japanese school or do anything to really teach them about their background. You just wanted to blend in, not make waves.”³⁴⁸ In this manner, “blending in” became a new way of life for many Japanese Canadians.



Figure 3.13. Robert and Ellen Kimura on their wedding day.
Source: Ayukawa family.
Bottom, center: my mother, Christine Ellen Mori

Like my grandparents, my great-aunt Ellen and great-uncle Robert Kimura were also married in a church and had a “traditional” wedding (Figure 3.13). In many ways, this act of

³⁴⁷ Midge Ayukawa, email message to author, May 4, 2011.

³⁴⁸ Ellen and Robert Kimura, interview by author, Tampa, FL, March 8, 2011.

culturally “blending in” afforded them opportunities to participate in “Canadian” livelihood and achieve mobility in the post-war years. As my great-aunt Ellen recounted:

For me, I never really followed Japanese culture—I don’t go to church, I don’t hang out at the Japanese center, I don’t do *ikebana* (Japanese flower-arranging), I don’t do calligraphy. I only know a few words, so I didn’t try to keep my culture alive, not even for the children, otherwise I would have sent them to Japanese school. To me, I don’t have a big desire to go to Japan—I’m Canadian.³⁴⁹

Robert Kimura’s remark similarly confirmed that he identifies as *Canadian*: “That’s the way I look at it, we’re part of the Canadian culture, but we just happen to be Japanese.”³⁵⁰ The remarks by great-aunt and great-uncle highlight the efforts of many Japanese Canadians to strategically “blend in.” They strove with great determination to become part of the “Canadian culture”—part of the fabric of the nation—and, in doing so, lost much of their interest in “Japanese” culture.



Figure 3.14. The Ayukawas dressed in their “Sunday best.”
Source: Ayukawa family.

Left to right: Great-aunt Midge, Midge’s mother, Great-grandparents Natsue and Shizuo, and grandparents Robert and Ryuko

³⁴⁹ Ellen and Robert Kimura, interview by author, Tampa, FL, March 8, 2011.

³⁵⁰ Ibid.

In the previous photograph, my family appears to be very much part of the fabric of “Canadian” life (Figure 3.14). In many respects, this photograph is evidence of both the social and economic mobility they achieved upon moving “East of the Rockies.” Moreover, during the post-war years, many of the *Issei* were granted Canadian citizenship (Figure 3.15). Thus, they not only *felt* Canadian, but were legally identified as such. My great-grandfather, Shizuo, was granted citizenship in 1952, and shortly after my great-grandmother received her certificate of citizenship in 1955.³⁵¹

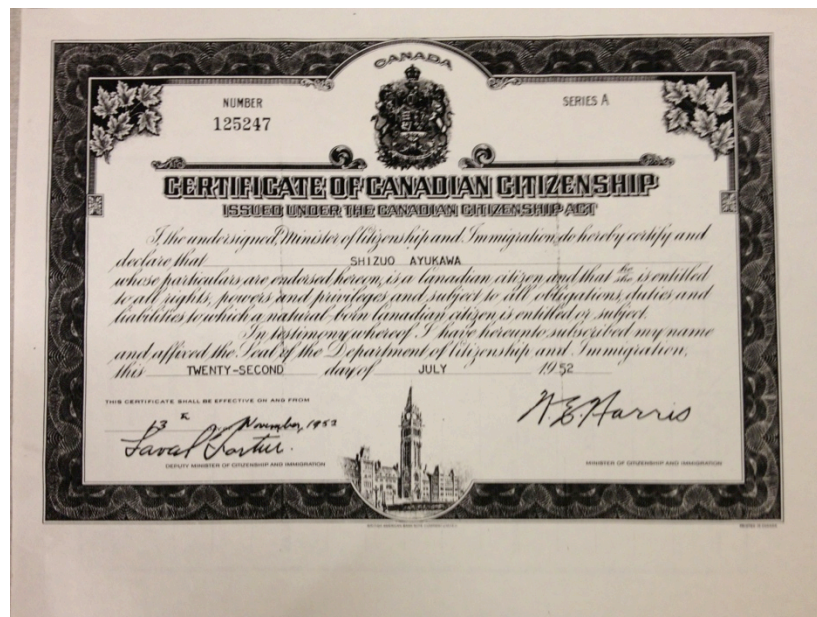


Figure 3.15. Shizuo Ayukawa’s certificate of Canadian citizenship.
Source: Ayukawa family.

Midge’s parents were, likewise, granted Canadian citizenship post-war. Yet, their visit to Japan in 1961 only further confirmed for them that they were Japanese-*Canadians*:

They returned feeling that the old Japan that they had been remembering and had wanted to return to was gone and they were glad to be Canadians. They never went again. It was the post-war years that they felt their home was in Canada with their children and grandchildren... As for pride in Japanese culture I doubt if they ever lost that.³⁵²

³⁵¹ On the back of certificate, the documentation of my great-grandfather’s “color” as “yellow” confirms the racial “othering” that still took place.

³⁵² Midge Ayukawa, email message to author, May 4, 2011.

This comment was particularly striking to me, and I feel it embodies how many in my family perceive their connection to Japan. The “old Japan” that the *Issei* once knew no longer existed. In the end, they were grateful to be *Canadians*. Despite the adversities they faced, Canada was—and continues to be—home. Similarly, when I asked my great-aunt Midge if she ever felt she had lost her Japanese roots, she remarked:

No, my mother had trained me—some [lessons] took, some were ignored. I was never able to behave like a “proper Japanese maiden,” ever, but I often note some Japanese traits in my behavior. Especially as I get older. I am not as outspoken as I used to be, and I am more thoughtful of others. I try to cooperate more and let the majority rule without protesting as much. But the other things like Japanese dancing, tea ceremony, flower arranging I cannot handle. Not artistic, I think. Yet, some of my daughters are really keen on *ikebana* (flower-arranging). I can’t keep still and contemplate I guess. My mind is always racing. So the Japanese arts are out, but I can accept the ways of native Japanese and they don’t find me too strange so I must still be Japanese in some ways. I have revived my Japanese language skills and can carry on a decent conversation in Japanese with them. When I talk to them I think in Japanese. Strangely, it must be hard on me since I find myself talking to myself in Japanese for a couple of days afterwards!³⁵³

Despite her lack of interest in “Japanese” arts, including dancing, tea ceremony and *ikebana*, my great-aunt Midge feels that she has not lost her “roots.” She distinguishes herself from “native Japanese,” but feels that she “must still be Japanese in some ways.” This suggests that, although my family may not be interested in traditional “Japanese” culture, they still, nevertheless, feel connected to their pasts. In fact, through her decision to return to school and devote her studies to Japanese Canadian history, my great-aunt Midge demonstrates that many continue to have a deep desire to learn of the past injustices inflicted upon the Japanese Canadian community.

³⁵³ Midge Ayukawa, email message to author, May 4, 2011.

The trend in marriage for Japanese Canadians is perhaps most telling of the generational change that has taken place since the war. Although many *Issei* had become more “open-minded” in the post-war years, it was still nonetheless considered unacceptable for the *Nisei* to “marry out” of the Japanese community. Not only did social barriers still exist between Japanese-Canadians and Anglo-society, but the *Issei* were also strict when it came to their children’s choice of spouse. Though Midge often refused to date other *Nisei*, as it would “emphasize the fact that [she] was Japanese,” her mother insisted that she marry a “Japanese fellow.” She further added:

I know of many *Nisei* who were forbidden to marry “out,” including a brother of mine... When I met and got engaged to Karl, my parents were relieved I think. Years later I asked my mother why she was not objecting to my children’s choice of mates and she said, “Times are different.”³⁵⁴

By the time the *Nisei* began raising the *Sansei*, times were, in fact, very different. As Tomoko Makabe explains, the accelerated change in Japanese Canadians is astounding to consider: “An unusual aspect to this accomplishment by a visible Canadian minority group is that the process has taken place very quickly—in just one generation, from the second to the third.”³⁵⁵ Makabe’s study of sixty-four Canadian *Sansei* provides an interesting point of comparison to the trends of transformation within my own family. The *Sansei*, she writes, are generally “free from the old ties and community feelings that have so characterized their parents. To some, the Japanese community, wherever it exists, is only a relic of the past; there is little sense of even relating to it, let alone belonging to it.”³⁵⁶ The socialization of *Sansei* occurred in “Anglo-Canadian” culture and, consequently, Makabe remarks that most became “100 percent Canadianized.” Furthermore, she argues that this group has achieved

³⁵⁴ Midge Ayukawa, email message to author, May 4, 2011.

³⁵⁵ Makabe, *The Canadian Sansei*, 121.

³⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 4.

“structural assimilation,” that is “full-scale assimilation.” Through my family’s stories, I seek to contest this notion of “full-scale assimilation.” The notion of *Sansei* being “100 percent Canadianized” suggests that Japanese Canadians have lost their roots—that they passively acquiesced to the government’s assimilationist goals. The picture below depicts my grandmother and mother as very representative of a “typical” middle-class family in the 1950s (Figure 3.16). Yet, despite the fact my mother grew up very much “Canadianized,” she remarked to me that she often felt caught in between a “Japanese” and “Canadian” identity.³⁵⁷



Figure 3.16. My grandmother, Ryuko, holding my mother, Christine Ellen Mori. *Source:* Mori family.

Deemed the “Generation of Security,” the *Sansei* are characterized as being extremely well educated and upwardly mobile.³⁵⁸ Such trends can be explained by the fact that most *Sansei* have not been “handicapped” by the same injustices faced by their parents. In many

³⁵⁷ Christine Mori, interview by author, February 10, 2013.

³⁵⁸ Makabe, *The Canadian Sansei*, 48.

cases, the *Nisei* strove to provide opportunities for their children that they were denied growing up. As Makabe argues, they raised them to be “as Canadian as possible.”³⁵⁹ As a result, she remarks that the *Sansei*’s mobility, both occupational and residential, has ultimately led to a weaker sense of ethnic group identity.³⁶⁰



Figure 3.17. My mother, a *Sansei*. Source: Mori family.

My mother, Christine Mori, embodies the image of the *Sansei* not only as well educated and upwardly mobile, but also caught in between a “Japanese” and “Canadian” identity (Figure 3.17). As a child, she was afforded both ballet and piano lessons from a very young age. Her musical prowess eventually led her to the Juilliard School and, upon graduation, she began a career as a professional pianist. For my grandparents, my mother was fulfilling dreams they could have never imagined. I would argue, too, that many *Sansei* grew up with an even greater desire to succeed, due to the adversities their parents faced. The image of her seated at the piano dressed in a traditional *kimono* (Japanese dress) suggests that, despite the perception that *Sansei* are “100 percent Canadianized,” many still feel a sense of connection to their identity as *Japanese* Canadians (Figure 3.17). Moreover, growing up, my mother actually felt a noticeable racial divide. As she explains:

³⁵⁹ Makabe, *The Canadian Sansei*, 44.

³⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 48.

I never felt like I belonged in my Anglo community, because where we lived there weren't any Japanese people. I didn't have any Japanese friends. The only Japanese people were my relatives... I didn't feel like I belonged in a community until I went to Juilliard, because 50 percent were Asian. Until then, I felt like an outsider.³⁶¹

Despite that she grew up in a nearly all-white community, it is interesting that my mother continued to identify so strongly as being Asian. In this manner, she challenges the notion that Makabe puts forth that nearly all *Sansei* are fully assimilated. Though they were *culturally* very “Canadian,” the racial Otherness of both the *Nisei* and *Sansei* continued to set them apart. Thus, I would argue that many *Sansei*, like my mother, grew up struggling with their identity—something that can be strongly attributed to the absence of a close-knit Japanese Canadian community.

As Makabe argues, the desire to assimilate on behalf of the *Nisei* parents was perceived with both “urgency and intensity.”³⁶² I would argue, that this urgency came out of necessity to rebuild their lives in the postwar years. Though they may appear to be ethnically Japanese, the *Sansei* often exhibit nothing “culturally Japanese.”³⁶³ The Japanese language was, for the most part, lost in the post-war years and never passed on to the *Sansei* generation. The refusal of many *Nisei* to give their children Japanese names likewise reflects the reluctance to pass on their “Japaneseness.” All *Sansei* in my family were given Anglo-Saxon names—such as my mother, whose middle name was taken from my great-aunt Ellen, (not her Japanese name Shizuko).³⁶⁴ This is reflective of Makabe’s argument that “rejecting and abandoning their ethnicity meant Anglo conformity on the part of the Japanese

³⁶¹ Christine Mori, interview by author, February 10, 2013.

³⁶² Makabe, *The Canadian Sansei*, 69.

³⁶³ Ibid.

³⁶⁴ Interestingly, unlike the *Sansei*, many *Yonsei* have Japanese names. My grandparents’ decision to give me a Japanese middle name, Kimiko, demonstrates how pride in their Japanese roots has shifted over generations.

Canadians who completely renounced the immigrants' ancestral culture in favour of the behavior and values of the Anglo-Canadian core group.”³⁶⁵

Releasing Japanese Canadian Identity through Redress

It would be nearly impossible to discuss the generational transformation of Japanese Canadians in the postwar years without acknowledging the fight for redress. For years, Canadian politicians resisted the thought of providing “reparations for past injustices.”³⁶⁶ In a 1961 interview, former Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent blatantly defended the internment on racial grounds and remarked that “blood is thicker than water.”³⁶⁷ Despite the efforts of the National Association of Japanese Canadians (NAJC) and other activist groups throughout the 1970s and early 1980s, government officials, such as Liberal Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau, remained unwavering. As my great-aunt Midge recounted, “I kept up to date on the fight for redress, attended local meetings, and donated towards it, but never actively worked for it. I felt that if I did, I might be awakening some dark side of me—and if I dwelt on it, the government would triumph over me. So it was self-protection, I suppose.”³⁶⁸

As Japanese Canadian activist Roy Miki explains, “The agency exercised by Japanese Canadians in the 1970s—and then taken in unprecedented directions through the redress movement in the 1980s—shows that the processes of racialization are never simply one-way and imposed, but are dynamic and folded into specific limits.”³⁶⁹ Roy Miki, a Japanese Canadian poet and scholar, was an important leader in the redress movement. My great-aunt

³⁶⁵ Makabe, *The Canadian Sansei*, 69.

³⁶⁶ Robinson, *Tragedy of Democracy*, 301.

³⁶⁷ Louis St. Laurent, “‘Blood Thicker Than Water’—St. Laurent,” *New Canadian*, October 21, 1961, quoted in Robinson, *Tragedy of Democracy*, 300.

³⁶⁸ Midge Ayukawa, email message to author, May 4, 2011.

³⁶⁹ Miki, “Turning In, Turning Out,” 37.

Midge first met Roy during one of the 1977 Japanese centennial celebration events at the National Museum in Ottawa. She remarked that, upon meeting him, she “could see the fire in his eyes, his deep-seated awareness of past injustices, and his yearning to somehow have them acknowledged in order that such actions would never be repeated in Canada.”³⁷⁰

In 1984, Trudeau resigned, and Conservative Prime Minister Brian Mulroney addressed the Japanese Canadians’ fight for redress. The NAJC subsequently commissioned Price Waterhouse to conduct a study on the cost of the internment for Japanese Canadians. According to their research, the internment had “cost” individuals \$333 million in revenue and \$110 million in property.³⁷¹ In September of 1988, the Canadian government issued an official apology and redress payment of \$21,000 to *Issei* and *Nisei* interned during the war.³⁷² Interestingly, the Canadian settlement was determined six weeks after President Reagan issued an official government apology and \$20,000 to surviving Japanese American internees. As Greg Robinson notes, the Canadian settlement was issued “in a small act of Canadian one-upmanship, as well as a recognition of the particular harshness with which Japanese Canadians had been treated.”³⁷³ As Roy Miki explains, the redress was a powerful moment in Japanese Canadian history: “The branding as ‘enemy alien’ as the alien ‘Jap’ figure contained through racialization, struck to the core of Japanese Canadians, and it was this haunted identity formation—the unredressed “citizen” of injustice—that was released from its historical confinement in the moment of the settlement.” It was at this time, he remarked, that “‘Japanese Canadian’ was liberated to become a floating sign with the

³⁷⁰ Midge Michiko Ayukawa, “Introduction: Roy Miki and Terry Watada,” in *Changing Japanese Identities in Multicultural Canada Keynote Address* University of Victoria Centre for Asia-Pacific Initiatives (Victoria, B.C.: University of Victoria, 2003), 22.

³⁷¹ Robinson, *Tragedy of Democracy*, 301.

³⁷² See Appendix G, My grandmother Ryuko’s official apology from Prime Minister Mulroney.

³⁷³ Ibid.

potential to take on an unpredictable range of alternate significations.” In this manner, prior to the war, during the internment, and—to a great extent—until the redress movement, Japanese Canadians were marked by a “fixed” identity. However, the redress movement demonstrated that identities must be understood as “always in movement.”³⁷⁴

My great-aunt Midge’s remarks, however, further complicate the perceived benefits of the redress. As she stated, “I accepted the money, donated half to the University of Victoria where I was working on my Ph.D in history, and the other half I gave to my five kids when they needed some help.”³⁷⁵ The fact that she simply *accepted* the money suggests that the government’s monetary compensation would never remedy the injustices of the past. The government could never repay internees for the years they spent incarcerated within their own country. The government could not repair the destruction of the community, nor could it reverse the dispersal of Japanese Canadians from their homes and livelihoods in British Columbia. The damage had already been done. The repercussions of the internment were irreversible.

“Blending In” and the Creation of *Hapa* Identity

In the post-internment years, the majority of Japanese Canadians sought nothing more than to “blend in.” Perhaps the most telling statistic that reflects the *Sansei*’s assimilation into the Anglo-Canadian “core group” is the fact that upwards of ninety-five percent currently “marry out.” As Midge writes in *Hiroshima Immigrants in Canada 1891-1941*, “This trend is likely to continue, so Japanese Canadians may well disappear as a distinct ethnic group. These changes may have been inevitable as the generations matured, but the

³⁷⁴ Miki, “Turning In, Turning Out,” 40.

³⁷⁵ Midge Ayukawa, email message to author, May 4, 2011.

events of 1941 to 1949 undoubtedly accelerated the trend.”³⁷⁶ As she further explained to me, “As the *Issei* died off, their strangle-hold on the *Nisei* would have loosened. The transition was already slowly taking place. The war just accelerated things.”³⁷⁷ In contrast to the *Nisei* in my family, all of whom married a Japanese Canadian spouse, the *Sansei* have all married a spouse of another ethnicity. For many *Sansei*, this was not so much the result of a personal desire to “marry out,” but an inevitable fact of life since the Japanese Canadian community had been dispersed across the country. It was the “fate” of the Japanese community. As Makabe posits, “There is no critical mass in this tiny minority community for young people to meet and mate with each other. Inter-marriage is largely a matter of ‘social exposure’ or a consequence of ‘pure demographics.’”³⁷⁸

Moreover, according to Makabe, because marriage is the “ultimate and most intimate” form of social acceptance, the high intermarriage rate suggests there is, in fact, no perceived barrier between *Sansei* and Anglo-Canadians.³⁷⁹ In a study by Sharon Lee and Monica Boyd, intermarriage is used as an indicator of the social integration of racial minorities. In particular, they point out that the Japanese in Canada have the highest rate of exogamy. As they explain, “Intermarriage further blurs racial/ethnic boundaries and identity as new generations emerge that no longer mirror the racial/ethnic identities of previous generations, leading to the amalgamation or blending of various racial and ethnic groups.”³⁸⁰ In this manner, the efforts of *Nisei* and *Sansei* to strategically “blend in” to Anglo-Canadian

³⁷⁶ Ayukawa, *Hiroshima Immigrants in Canada*, 127.

³⁷⁷ Midge Ayukawa, email message to author, May 4, 2011.

³⁷⁸ Makabe, *The Canadian Sansei*, 124.

³⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 122.

³⁸⁰ Sharon M. Lee and Monica Boyd, “Marrying out: Comparing the marital and social integration of Asians in the US and Canada,” *Social Science Research* 37, no. 1 (2008): 312.

society ultimately led to the *blending* of Japanese Canadians with other racial and ethnic groups.

Likewise, in a study conducted by Statistics Canada entitled “A Portrait of Couples in Mixed Unions,” it was found that Japanese Canadians had the “highest proportion of out-group pairings.” Of the 29,700 couples surveyed, approximately 75 percent “involved pairings with a non-Japanese person.”³⁸¹ If using intermarriage as the sole indicator of assimilation, the Japanese Canadians represent the smallest, yet statistically most “assimilated,” visible ethnic minority. By contrast, the two largest visible minority groups, South Asians and Chinese, had the lowest rate of mixed unions.³⁸² The studies by Statistics Canada, as well as by Lee and Boyd, cite the “long duration of residence” for Japanese in Canada, as well as the “lower overall number of Japanese” as reasons for this trend. In fact, the Japanese Canadians comprise of just 3% of Canada’s Asian population.³⁸³ However, it is important to contextualize this trend within the greater historical narrative of the Japanese Canadians. This sharp trend is not only a result of pure demographics, but of the strategic and forced dispersal of the Japanese community on behalf of the Canadian government. As Audrey Kobayashi, a Canadian *Sansei*, explains, “If you look at the social situations in which people find partners, it’s very often in community events, churches, educational institutions... For Japanese Canadians, those were destroyed, and you saw an immediate rise in intermarriage.”³⁸⁴

³⁸¹ Milan, Anne, and T. Chui Maheux. “A Portrait of Couples in Mixed Unions.” *Canadian Social Trends*, no. 89. Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 11-008-X (2010): 70-82.

³⁸² See Appendix N, Out-group pairing by visible minority group, 2006

³⁸³ Lee and Boyd, “Marrying Out,” 327

³⁸⁴ The Bulletin, “Mixed Marriages: Why Are There So Many Among Japanese Canadians?” Japanese Canadian Citizens’ Association, <http://jccbulletin-geppo.ca/crosscurrents/mixed-marriages-why-are-there-so-many-among-japanese-canadians/> (accessed February 1, 2013).

As the Statistics Canada study suggests, the impact of mixed unions could be “far-reaching” in influencing “the dynamic nature of Canada’s ethnocultural diversity in future generations.”³⁸⁵ In particular, the study cites that these consequences may impact language transfer, as well as the ethnic identification of children in mixed families who identify with visible minority groups.³⁸⁶ I, like all *Yonsei* in my family, am *hapa*, or “mixed.”³⁸⁷ *Yonsei* Jeff Chiba Stearn’s documentary *One Big Hapa Family* (2011) examines the trend of intermarriage more closely and the subsequent rise of *hapa* identity among Canadian *Yonsei*. However, rather than argue the Japanese Canadian community is disappearing or becoming “extinct,” he embraces its increasing diversity:

We can be whole and we can be part of many things. Yes, Japanese Canadian is part of what we are and it doesn’t matter if you’re one half, one quarter, or one-eighth Japanese Canadian. If you feel attached to any part of you that is Japanese Canadian even if you don’t look Japanese Canadian but feel it internally and are interested in it, you are Japanese Canadian.

This statement was particularly powerful to me. Growing up, I have always considered myself in terms of fractions—being *half* Japanese, a *quarter* German, an *eighth* Irish, an *eighth* French. Yet, Stearns’ statement has allowed me to recognize this history: part of me does not have to be, and should not be, broken down into parts. Furthermore, he argues that it is very important for “the elders” to realize “we can mix and we can blend,” but we will never lose our history and Japanese heritage. Stearns believes that “[t]he Japanese Canadian community is not fading or shrinking, it’s growing because with intermarriage we’re gaining

³⁸⁵ Milan, “Mixed Unions,” 80.

³⁸⁶ This observation is evident in my own family. Hardly any of the *Nisei* speak Japanese in my family, and, thus, the language was not transferred to the *Sansei*. Beginning my study of the Japanese language at Duke is one way I have tried to reconnect with my family’s lost language.

³⁸⁷ The term *hapa* is commonly used to describe people who are of mixed ethnic backgrounds. It is a Hawaiian term that stems from the phrase *hapa haole*, which means “half foreigner” or “half white.” For more discussion of *hapa* identity, see Adriane E. Gamble, “Hapas: Emerging Identity, Emerging Terms and Labels & the Social Construction of Race,” *Stanford Journal of Asian American Studies* 2 (October 2009): 1-20.

so many more people who can be part of our community, making it more diverse, dynamic, and beautiful!”³⁸⁸

In this manner, the Japanese Canadian community is not one that should be remembered as something belonging to the past—as something that was created by the *Issei* pioneers and destroyed by the Canadian government. Through the process of “blending in,” the Japanese Canadian community continues to demonstrate that identity is not fixed; it is constantly in the making. Though the community that existed prewar can never be recreated, the diversity of today’s Japanese Canadians provides an opportunity reimagine a new transnational community. This community is one that encompasses individuals of a multitude of ethnic backgrounds and cultures. This community is not only transnational; it is transcultural.



Figure 3.18. Four Generations of Ayukawa women.
Source: Ayukawa family.

³⁸⁸ Discover Nikkei, “Hapa-ly Ever After: An Interview with Jeff Chiba Stearns,” Japanese American National Museum Store Online, <http://www.discovernikkei.org/en/journal/2012/6/12/hapa-ly-ever-after/> (accessed April 12, 2013).

Conclusion: Re-membering a Transnational Community

Initially, my thesis grew out of a personal desire to reconnect with my Japanese roots. I wanted to more fully understand my family history from *Issei* to *Yonsei*. I was fascinated not only by the *Issei*'s decision to leave Japan for a new life in Canada, but by the wartime experiences of the *Nisei*. I longed to know why my mother never heard their stories, why every *Sansei* in my family decided to "marry out," and why the Japanese language essentially disappeared in my family. In many ways, writing my thesis was a quest to more fully understand my own ethnic-identity as a half-Japanese *Yonsei*. Though I once considered my thesis to be an exploration of my family's story—of *Japanese* Canadian history—I have come to realize that their story and that of the Japanese Canadian community is, in fact, *Canadian* history. Though they may be deemed an ethnic minority, Japanese Canadians must not be reduced to "minority history." Their stories, though repressed for many years, are an integral part of the dominant historical narrative.

The past century of history provides a context for understanding how Japanese Canadians have transformed into the, statistically, *most* "assimilated" visible minority. Chapter one explores the *Issei*'s creation of a transnational community upon arrival in Canada. The racialization of *Issei* as "inassimilable" Others provides a background for understanding the labeling of Japanese Canadians as "enemy aliens" during World War II. In chapter two, using oral histories of my family members, I shed light on the forced internment of people of all individuals of Japanese descent and the subsequent destruction of the transnational community. Lastly, chapter three examines the repercussions of the Canadian government's "repatriation or resettlement," which forced thousands of Japanese Canadians to face deportation to Japan or dispersal "East of the Rockies." Ultimately the

Canadian government's "repatriation or resettlement" policy resulted in an accelerated assimilation of the remaining Japanese into "white Canada." However, I argue that the act of "blending in" was not passive, but rather an active and strategic way for my family to achieve both social and economic mobility. Their efforts to "blend in" persevered the potential for individual agency and provided the opportunity for success in future generations.

What is perhaps most ironic about this phenomenon is that the distancing, isolation, and "othering" of Japanese Canadians during the prewar and internment years ultimately fostered what eugenic theorists had warned against—the eventual intermixing of the white and "yellow race." In the early 20th century, eugenicists posited that "hybrid" individuals were seen as "biologically unfit," and that miscegenation would lead to the "deterioration" of the "white race." Though ethnic Japanese were perceived as a threat to the purity of Canada's Anglo-conformist model, the state of the present day Japanese Canadians reflects the most "hybridized" ethnic minority in all of Canada. In fact, if using intermarriage as the sole indicator of assimilation, Japanese Canadians are statistically the *most* assimilated ethnic minority in Canada. Today, approximately 75 percent of Japanese Canadians are in mixed unions. Moreover, the intermarriage rate of Japanese Canadians is approximately 95 percent—the highest of any ethnic minority in Canada. My family reflects this statistic, as all *Yonsei* are of mixed Japanese ethnicity. In this manner, Japanese Canadians have certainly become part of the national fabric of Canada. Destroying the Japanese Canadian community and dispersing the population across the nation ultimately led to their assimilation into Anglo-Canadian society and the "hybridization" of the Japanese Canadian community.

The experiences of *Nikkei*, or individuals of Japanese descent, not only in Canada and the United States, but around the world, demonstrate that *Nikkei* populations are continually changing. According to “Discover Nikkei,” an online community about Nikkei identity and history, *Nikkei* identity is “not static”:

It is a symbolic, social, historical, and political construction. It involves a dynamic process of selection, reinterpretation, and synthesis of cultural elements set within the shifting and fluid contexts of contemporary realities and relationships. These relationships have had a long history intensified within the current context of global capitalism.³⁸⁹

Through the scope of my thesis, I have attempted to shed light on the dynamic flux of Japanese Canadian identity and community over the past century. In this manner, identity is never created in isolation, nor is it ever a fixed entity. Moreover, it is important to recognize that identities are products of social interaction. As Roy Miki explains, identity cannot be perceived as “a given.” Rather, it is something that is constantly “negotiated and struggled over.”³⁹⁰ The introduction to the conference on “Changing Japanese Identities in Multicultural Canada” sheds light on this phenomenon:

As we all know, change is a constant in our individual lives, as well as in our social institutions, and it is in this ebb and flow of human events that we define and re-define ourselves. We see ourselves as Japanese, as Canadians, as Japanese-Canadians, as *chikyuu shimin*, as “citizens of the world,” through an evolving filter of social factors.³⁹¹

The transformation of Japanese Canadian identity from the time of emigration at the beginning of the 20th century to the present day demonstrates the concept of identity as a “dynamic and evolving process.”³⁹² As the intermarriage rate continues to increase in the future, the Japanese Canadian community will continue to diversify. What then lies ahead

³⁸⁹ Discover Nikkei, “What is Nikkei?” Japanese American National Museum, <http://www.discovernikkei.org/en/about/what-is-nikkei> (accessed April 12, 2013).

³⁹⁰ Bernard Saint-Jacques, “Identity, Multiculturalism and Japanese Identity,” *Changing Japanese Identities*, 73.

³⁹¹ Joseph F. Kess, et al. “Introductory Chapter” in *Changing Japanese Identities*, 4.

³⁹² Saint-Jacques, “Identity, Multiculturalism and Japanese Identity,” 74.

for future generations of Japanese Canadians, and how can we best preserve the story of the Japanese Canadian community?

Perhaps the greatest challenge facing Japanese Canadian individuals is finding ways to remember the past. The film *Obaachan's Garden* tells the story of one *Issei* woman who immigrated to Canada as a picture bride in 1923.³⁹³ Then one hundred years old, the woman recounts her life story. In the opening scene, the young *Yonsei* great-granddaughter remarks, “How do we learn about things that have happened before us? And what about memories—what people remember—are these memories always real?” These words deeply resonated with me. As I reflect upon my own family, I feel a similar sense of loss. The *Issei* generation has now passed. Their experiences exist only as memories and stories passed down to the *Nisei* and *Sansei*.

Because a great deal of their lives remained in silence, very little is known about the lives of the *Issei*. Unlike the young *Yonsei* in *Obaachan's Garden*, I did not have the opportunity to speak with my great-grandparents. I know them only through photographs and through the recollections of my grandparents. As the *Sansei* in the film further remarked, “For us, Obaachan has been our Japaneseness, but we’ve never really understood much about her or the culture.... more of what we know is from what’s not said than what is said, which leaves a lot of things buried in that silence.”³⁹⁴ Much of my family’s history has likewise been “buried” in silence. As the *Nisei* generation continues to age, I feel compelled to learn their stories and pay tribute to the adversities they faced, as well as the remarkable strength and resilience they have demonstrated over the years. In breaking the silence surrounding the *Nisei*’s experiences during the war, I hope to shed light on the injustices they

³⁹³ *Obaachan's Garden*. Dir. Linda Ohama. The National Film Board of Canada, 2001.

³⁹⁴ Ibid.

endured at the hands of the Canadian government. Through the internment and resettlement, the government fragmented and dispersed not only the physical structure of the Japanese Canadian community, but the memory of it, as well. By persevering stories of the *Issei*, recording memories of the *Nisei*, uncovering old photographs that have been tucked away for many years, and creating a narrative of my family's story from *Issei* to *Yonsei*, I seek to piece together fragments of our history and *re-member* the Japanese Canadian transnational community. Memory, I believe, is a form of *active* resistance to the dominant historical narrative.

In recent years, members of the Japanese Canadian community have, likewise, sought various ways of preserving the memory of past generations. The Japanese Canadian Cultural Centre (JCCC) in Toronto and the Nikkei National Museum in Vancouver continue to create opportunities for Japanese Canadians of all generations to come together and celebrate their heritage.³⁹⁵ The JCCC "Sedai Project" ("generations") is dedicated to recording the stories of *Nisei* and making them accessible to *all Canadians* through an online archive. In addition to recording oral histories, the Japanese Canadian community continues to find other ways of paying tribute to the past. Kirsten Emiko McAllister, a *Sansei*, explores the idea of these "memory projects" in her book *Terrain of Memory*:

To collectively remember the past, whether by building memorials and archives, transmitting oral histories, producing novels and films, or pursuing human rights cases, requires members of the community to rebuild institutions and social networks, to find records, to reconstitute rituals and public places where they can gather and create new languages, imagery, and cultural practices. Remembering can also offer a means to collectively mourn what has been lost and destroyed. In recognizing the damaging effects, there is the possibility of identifying ways to transform

³⁹⁵ Japanese Canadian Cultural Centre, "Sedai: The Japanese Canadian Legacy Project," <http://www.sedai.ca> (accessed April 12, 2013).

Nikkei Centre, "Nikkei: National Museum & Cultural Centre," <http://centre.nikkeiplace.org> (accessed April 12, 2013).

debilitating intergenerational effects and thus assert (a new form of) continuity over time.³⁹⁶

In particular, McAllister explores the creation of the Nikkei Internment Memorial Centre (NIMC) at the New Denver internment site. As she explains, the “elders” built this site so they could not only “find resolution to the disturbing forces haunting their lives,” but also ensure future generations would not forget the history of the Japanese Canadian internment.³⁹⁷ She further explains that, building memorials on “sites of persecution” allows surviving Japanese Canadians to “reassert their presence in social terrains where they were either forced to leave, denied the right to practice and pass down their cultural beliefs to younger generations, or exterminated.”³⁹⁸ Though a memorial site has been constructed at New Denver, this is not the case for other sites at which my family was interned. In researching the existence of memorial sites at Tashme, I found that the area had, in fact, been renamed “Sunshine Valley.” Thus, in many respects, the history of the Japanese Canadian internment continues to be sanitized in the dominant historical narrative. My family’s story, however, not only intersects with this dominant narrative, but also challenges it. The phenomenon of transforming from “inassimilable” to one of the *most* “assimilated” ethnic minorities must not be remembered as a victory on behalf of the Canadian government. My family’s voices and resilience, as well as my active decision to *re-member* this history, provides a contesting narrative.

Moreover, through the process of writing my thesis, I have come to realize that remembering the story of the Japanese Canadian community is not solely the responsibility

³⁹⁶ Kirsten Emiko McAllister, *Terrain of Memory: A Japanese Canadian Memorial Project* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010), 13.

³⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 4.

³⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 93.

of *Japanese* Canadians, but of *all* Canadians. In *The Past Within Us*, Tessa-Morris Suzuki discusses the concept of implication:

We are implicated in the events of the past because we live within the institutions, beliefs and structures that the past has created. But we are also implicated in the past because the past lives in us. The knowledge of history we have absorbed consciously or unconsciously...³⁹⁹

In this manner, though individuals may not be directly responsible for the crimes committed by the Canadian government, all Canadians are *implicated* in the past. As a result, we must collectively strive to acknowledge that the past does, in fact, live within *all* of us.

Over the past two years, this project has provided an incredible opportunity to uncover stories from the past and rekindle memories among the *Nisei* and *Sansei* generations. By integrating my family's oral histories, together with archival material, I hope to provide a unique perspective on the story of the Japanese Canadian community over four generations. In particular, I hope to become closer to reaching what Tessa Morris-Suzuki describes as "historical truthfulness." In her words:

While recognizing its own limits... historical truthfulness above all involves an effort to *make sense* of the past. Listening to the multiple voices of history must also be a process through which we try to gain a broader picture of past events, judge the reliability of conflicting accounts, assess the meanings of different forms of testimonies and evidence, and search for patterns that explain the relationship between past and present.⁴⁰⁰

In many ways, piecing together these scattered memories has allowed me to "make sense of the past." I have taken fragmented pieces of my family's story and created a narrative—a family archive—that can be read by current generations and passed onto future generations to come. In this manner, this story is not only one that is transnational, but *transgenerational*.

Suzuki asserts that listening to these "multiple voices of history" creates an "ongoing

³⁹⁹ Morris-Suzuki, *Past Within Us*, 235.

⁴⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 240.

dialogue,” which allows us to “listen to an expanding repertoire of voices from the past, tell and retell the stories that we have heard, and so define and redefine our position to the present.”⁴⁰¹ My thesis is a collection of four generations of voices. They are the voices of the Canadian government, of the Japanese Canadian community, of individual activists like the Barnetts and Saul Cherniack who offered hope in times of hopelessness. And they are the voices of my family—long silenced over the past generations.

As a *Yonsei*, I feel that my Japanese roots must be celebrated and embraced. By retelling the story of my great-grandparents and grandparents, I hope to pay tribute to their legacy—to the adversities they faced, the sacrifices they made, and the resilience they demonstrated despite the past century of historical violence. In leaving Japan, the *Issei* sacrificed their family and homeland for the prospect of a new life in Canada. Through the internment and resettlement, the *Nisei* strove with great determination to create opportunities for the *Sansei* and *Yonsei*. In preserving their stories, I am able to tell a story of *Canadian* history, not solely *Japanese* Canadian history. I am able to connect with my ancestral roots and revitalize the ethnic ties—the Japanese roots—of my family, as well as those of future generations to come.



Figure 3.19. *Issei* and *Yonsei*, Great-grandmother Ayukawa and Alexis Kimiko. *Source*: Ayukawa family.

⁴⁰¹ Morris-Suzuki, *Past Within Us*, 28.

Appendix A

Timeline of Important Events Ch. 1-3

Nikkei National Museum & Cultural Centre, “Japanese Canadian Timeline,” Nikkei Centre, <http://centre.nikkeiplace.org/japanese-canadian-timeline/> (accessed April 12, 2013).

General history

Family history

Chapter 1: The Creation of Transnational Community

Date	Event
1853	Perry “opens” Japan
1868	Meiji Restoration; laborers recruited to Hawaii
1877	First Japanese emigrant, Manzo Nagano, settled in Canada
1882	Chinese Exclusion Act; demand for Japanese laborers to replace Chinese grows
1895	BC denies franchise to individuals of Asian origin
1902	Anglo-Japanese Alliance (Canada becomes signatory 1906)
1904	Japanese emigrants settle in Fraser Valley for berry farming
1907	Vancouver Riots
1908	Gentleman’s Agreement restricts Japanese immigration to 400/year; picture brides emigrate
1917	Shizuo Ayukawa leaves Kagoshima for BC
1924	Immigration Act of 1924 essentially bars Japanese emigration to United States
1928	Gentleman’s Agreement amended; Japanese emigration further restricted to 150/year
February 29, 1928	Shizuo and Natsue married in Kagoshima
April 15, 1928	Shizuo Ayukawa returns with Natsue Ayukawa aboard <i>Empress of Asia</i>
1934	Shizuo and Natsue purchase 9-acre farm in Mission, B.C.

Chapter 2: The Destruction of a Transnational Community

1938-1940	RCMP monitored Japanese community for subversive activity
1939	Canada declares war on Germany
March-August, 1941	RCMP requires registration of JCs over 16 years old
December 7, 1941	Pearl Harbor; under War Measures Act (Order in Council PC 9591, Japanese nationals and individuals naturalized after 1922 must register with Registrar of Enemy Aliens)
December 8, 1941	Canada, US, and UK declare war on Japan
	1,200 Japanese fishing boats impounded and put under control of Japanese Fishing Vessel Disposal Committee; Japanese language newspapers and schools closed
December 16, 1941	P.C. 9760: mandatory registration of all individuals of Japanese origin, regardless of citizenship, with Registration of Enemy Aliens
January 16, 1942	P.C. 365: 100-mile “protected area”

February 7	All male “enemy aliens” between 18-45 must leave coastal area before April 1; sent to road camps
February 24	P.C. 1486: Minister of Justice has power to control movements of all individuals of Japanese origin in protected area
February 26	Minister of Justice issues notice ordering all individuals of the “Japanese race” to evacuate coast; cars, cameras, radios confiscated; dusk-to-dawn curfew imposed
March 4	B.C. Security Commission established P.C. 1665 property under control of Custodian of Enemy Alien Property
March 16	Arrival at Hastings Park begins
March 25	B.C. Security Commission begins assigning families to internment camps/road camps
June 1942	Ayukawa family arrives Hastings Park
June 29	Director of Soldier Settlement permitted to purchase/lease JC farms
September 1942	Ayukawa family arrives in New Denver, BC
October	~22,000 JC (75% Canadian citizens, including 60% Canadian born, 15% naturalized) have been removed from coast
January 23, 1943	Order in Council permits Custodian of Enemy Alien Property to dispose of JC property
August 4, 1944	PM King states JCs should be dispersed; applications for “voluntary repatriation”
July 1945	Ayukawa family arrives Tashme, BC
February 1945	Repatriation or Resettlement Survey
September 2, 1945	Japan surrenders; all internment camps ordered closed except New Denver (BC Security Commission office in New Denver does not close until 1957)

Chapter 3: “Blending in” East of the Rockies

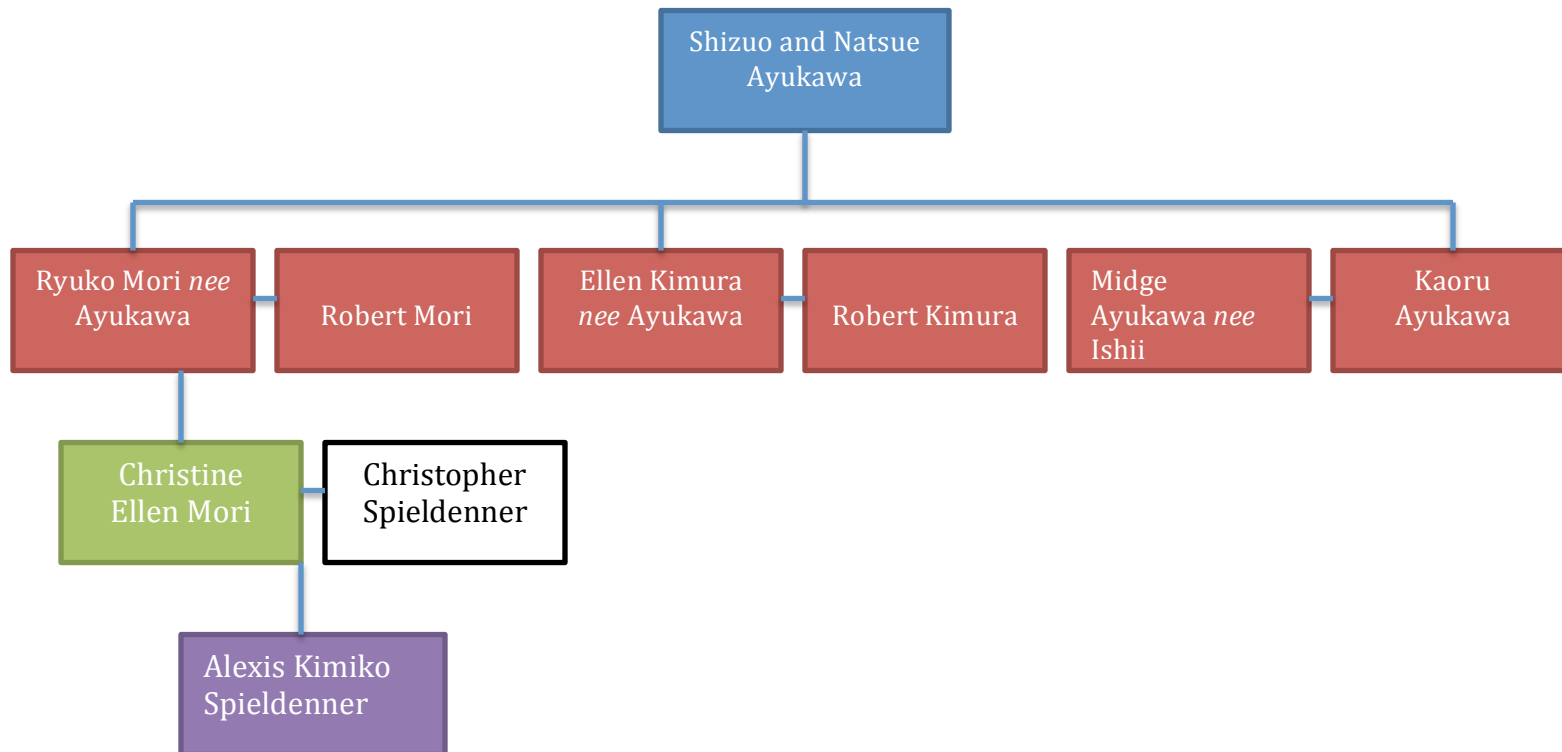
January 1, 1946	National Emergency Transitional Powers Act replaces War Measures Act after expiration
May 31, 1946	Ships begin to leave with “repatriates”
December 1946	Deportation orders upheld
July 1946	Ayukawa family relocated to Transcona, Manitoba
September 1946	Ayukawa family relocated to Selkirk, Manitoba
September 1947-March 31, 1949	Ayukawa family relocated to W. Kildonan, Winnipeg, Manitoba
	Ryuko Mori (grandmother) moves east to Toronto; some family follows
January 1947	Dispersal largely completed (only 6,776 JCs remain in BC)
January 24, 1947	PM Mackenzie cancels deportation orders; 4,000 JCs have already been “repatriated”
April 1947	Canadian Citizenship Act: Canadians could become citizens of Canada, rather than British subjects (excludes JCs and Aborigines)

April 14, 1947	Government lifted all travel restrictions on JC outside BC
July 18, 1947	Bird Commission established to look into unfair Custodian property sales
1948	Federal Elections Act amended: "Canadian citizens who are of Japanese race" become eligible to vote
April 1, 1949	War Measures Act restriction lifted, franchise given to JCs
Spring 1949	Provincial enfranchisement of JCs
1950	Bird Commission findings award \$1.2 million P.C. 4364 revokes prohibition of enemy aliens
December 14, 1950	Claims Commission awards Ayukawa additional \$552.27 after Cherniack (CCJC) attorney represents him in court

1967	Race no longer a criterion for immigration; establishes "point system"
1977	Japanese Canadian Centennial
1982	Canadian version of American Bill of Rights in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms (part of Redress campaign)
January 1984	Redress movement begins
May 9, 1986	Price Waterhouse Associates assesses income/property loss at \$443 million
September 17, 1987	Civil Liberties Act of 1987: \$1.37 billion redress to Japanese Americans (\$20,000 to 66,000 survivors \$50 million fund)
September 22, 1988	Acknowledgement, apology, compensation by Canadian government (\$21,000)

Appendix B

Family Tree: For the purpose of this thesis, only names of individuals discussed are included.



Issei (blue), *Nisei* (red), *Sansei* (green), *Yonsei* (purple)

Appendix C

Sunahara, Ann Gomer. *The Politics of Racism: The Uprooting of Japanese Canadians during the Second World War*. Toronto: Lorimer Press, 1981.

POPULATION OF BRITISH COLUMBIA BY RACIAL ORIGIN 1901-1941									
Year	Total Population	Chinese	Japanese	East Indians and other Asians	Total Asians	% Chinese	% Japanese	% East Indian	% Asian
1901	178,657	14,885	4,597	84	19,482	8.3	2.6	.04	10.9 ^a
1911	392,480	19,568	8,587	2,292	30,447	5.0	2.2	.58	7.8
1921	524,582	23,533	15,006	989	39,528	4.5	2.9	.18	7.5
1931	694,236	27,139	22,205	1,607	50,951	3.9	3.2	.23	7.3
1941	817,861	18,619	22,096	1,757	42,472	2.3	2.7	.21	5.2

Source: *Census of Canada*, 1901-1941.

^aIn 1901 native Indians still composed a numerically significant proportion of the provincial population. The decennial census of that year reported 25,488 Indian residents in British Columbia. The ratio of Asians to white residents was 14.6 per cent. Thereafter the Indian population shrank while all other racial components of the community grew. As a result, the ratio of Asians to whites approached that of Asians to the total provincial population.

Appendix D

POW List

Yoshikazu Kimura (#437), father of my great-uncle Robert Kimura

Okazaki, Robert K. The Nisei Mass Evacuation Group and POW Camp 101: the Japanese-Canadian Community's Struggle for Justice and Human Rights during World War II. Scarborough, Ontario: Markham Litho Limited, 1996.

NOMINAL ROLL OF JAPANESE P.O.W.s IN CANADA (continued)

<u>TYPE</u>	<u>P.O.W.#</u>	<u>SURNAME</u>	<u>GIVEN NAME</u>	<u>AGE</u>	<u>KEN</u>
I	429	KATAGIRI	JIRO	52	hokkaido
I	710	KATO	HIKOJIRO	58	kumamoto
N	430	KATO	KAZUO	22	aichi
N	431	KAWABATA	KAZUO	21	kagoshima
I	236	KAWABATA	TEIICHI	53	wakayama
N	237	KAWAGOYE	KIYOZO	19	kumamoto
N	432	KAWAGUCHI	KAMEO	20	wakayama
I	238	KAWAGUCHI***	RISABURO	57	shiga
N	705	KAWAGUCHI	TAKERU	30	hiroshima
N	433	KAWAHIRA	MASANOBU	20	kagoshima
I	58	KAWAI	ISABURO	51	shiga
KC	709	KAWAMOTO	KOICHI	46	ehime
N	239	KAWANO	KATSUYOSHI	26	kumamoto
KC	240	KAWANO	MASAKI	49	kumamoto
N	241	KAWANO	NOBUYOSHI	18	kumamoto
N	59	KAWANO	YOSHIO	25	kumamoto
KJ	60	KAWASAKI	SANJIRO	50	fukuoka
I	242	KAWASHIMA	SHOSAKU	40	shizuoka
N	243	KIDO	KAZUO	23	yamaguchi
I	435	KIKUTA	TOSHIO	37	hiroshima
N	451	KIMOTO	KAORU	20	fukuoka
N	436	KIMOTO	MICHIO	18	fukuoka
I	704	KIMURA	KEITA	64	kumamoto
I	61	KIMURA	SHOSABURO	57	shiga
I	62	KIMURA	YONEICHI	47	hiroshima
I	437	KIMURA	YOSHIKAZU	38	wakayama
N	244	KIMURA	YOSHIO	33	wakayama
I	438	KINOSHITA	SEIICHI	41	shiga
N	439	KITADE	SHIGEO	26	wakayama
I	63	KITAGAWA	KENSUKE	46	kumamoto
N	64	KITAGAWA	MASAO	22	shiga
N	65	KITAGAWA	RINZO	28	shiga
KC	66	KITAGAWA	SUTEZO	23	shiga

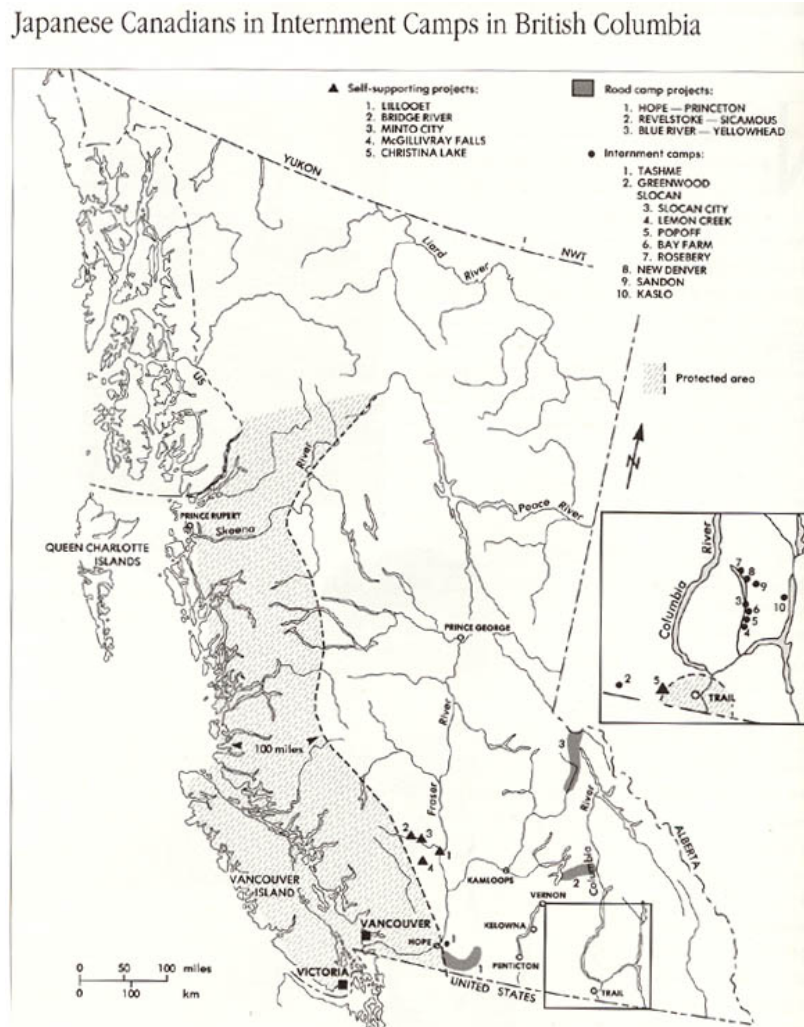
Appendix E

[Google map](#) of Ayukawa diaspora. This map “spatializes” my family’s history and can be used as reference to visualize their “uprootedness” in multiple contexts.

Appendix F

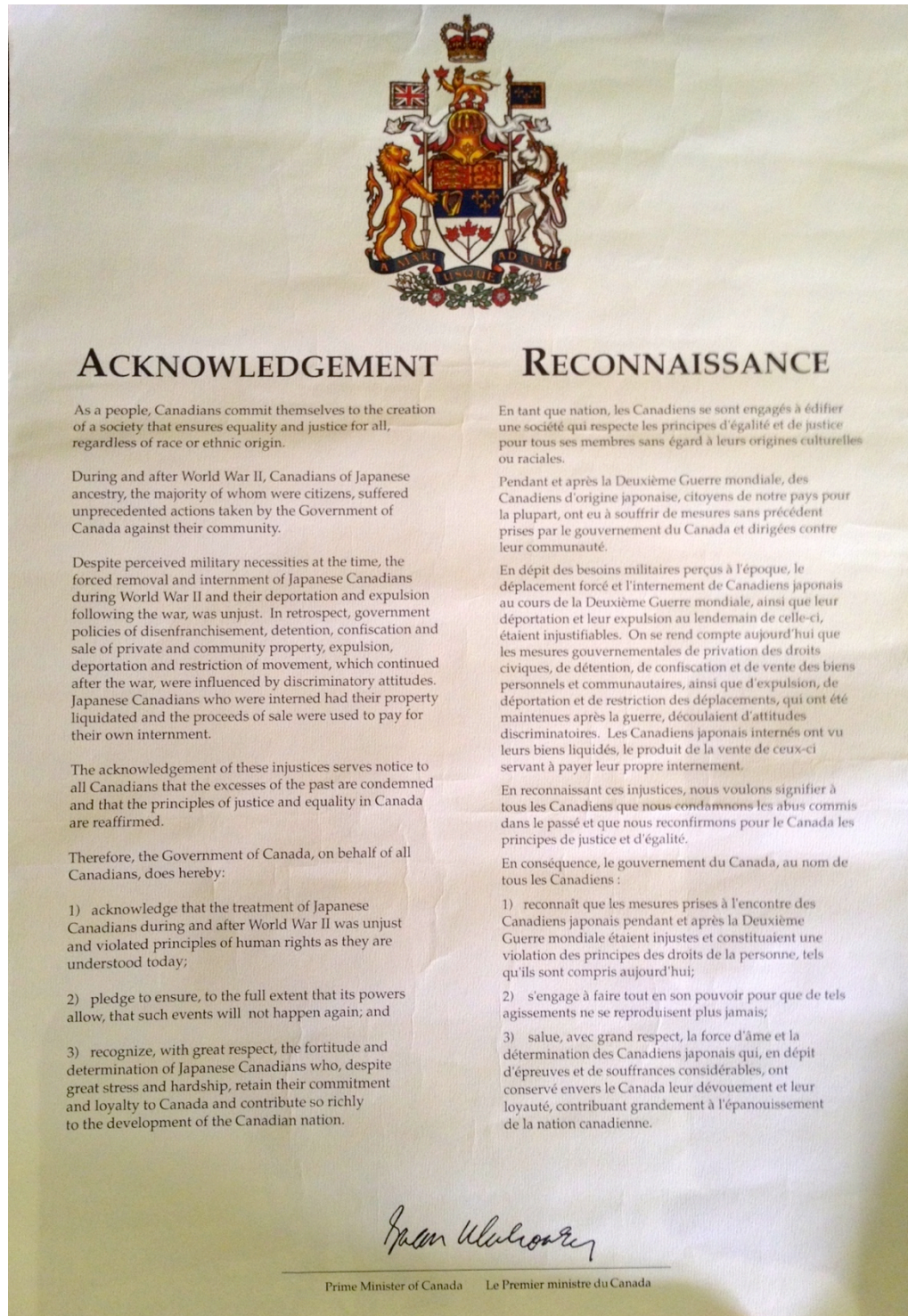
Internment camp locations.

National Association of Japanese Canadians. “Japanese Canadians Today.” Japanese Canadian Association. <http://www.najc.ca/thenandnow/today.php> (accessed April 12, 2013).



Appendix G

My grandmother's copy of the Canadian government's letter of apology, signed by Prime Mulroney.



Appendix H

New Canadian News Clipping. March 17, 1945. Box 1, Folder 22, Cooperative Committee on Japanese Canadian Fonds. William Ready Division of Archives and Research Collections, McMaster University Library.

Page 8

THE NEW CANADIAN

March 17, 1945

DEPARTMENT OF LABOUR
CANADA

NOTICE

TO ALL PERSONS
OF JAPANESE RACIAL ORIGIN

HAVING REFERENCE TO MAKING
APPLICATION FOR
VOLUNTARY REPATRIATION TO JAPAN

The Minister of Labour has been authorized by the Government of Canada to make known the following decisions made with respect to persons of Japanese ancestry, now resident in Canada, who make voluntary application to go to Japan after the war, or sooner where this can be arranged:

1. The net proceeds realized from the disposition of their property, real and personal, in Canada, and standing to their credit at time of repatriation, will be secured to them and may be transferred by them to Japan upon repatriation following the close of the war.
2. In the case of persons sent to Japan under any agreement for exchange of Nationals between Canada and Japan before the close of war, under which agreement the amount of personal property and funds carried by the repatriates is limited, the Custodian of Enemy Alien Property will be authorized, on the advice of the Department of External Affairs, to provide such Japanese repatriates with receipts showing the property left behind in Canada, or net proceeds of same if sold, with a view to their being permitted to secure possession of their property or the net proceeds thereof after the end of hostilities.
3. Free passage will be guaranteed by the Canadian Government to all repatriates being sent to Japan, and all their dependents who accompany them, and including free transportation of such of their personal property as they may take with them.

The above assurances will apply to such persons as have already made written application in satisfactory form to the Government of Canada to go to Japan, or who make written application hereafter for that purpose to the Government of Canada within the period of time fixed by the Commissioner of Japanese Placement for the completion and filing of applications.

These assurances do not apply to persons of the Japanese race repatriated on other than a voluntary basis.

Dated at Ottawa this 13th day of February, 1945.

HUMPHREY MITCHELL
Minister of Labour.

Loyalty Probe Also Proposed

Notices defining the new voluntary repatriation policy imply that "Loyalty Tribunals" will later be appointed to conduct an inquiry after registration for voluntary repatriation. It is indicated that persons expelled from the country will not qualify for the same assurances as those who go to Japan voluntarily. Reference is also made to the fact that failure to volunteer may be construed as evidence by the tribunal.

OTTAWA.—In a dispatch datelined Ottawa, March 16, Torrey Anderson of the Vancouver Province Ottawa Bureau said that "there is reason to believe that officials in charge are carrying on definite preliminary steps" in the program of segregating "loyal" and "disloyal" persons of Japanese ancestry in Canada.

The Ottawa correspondent added, however, that the commission to conduct the inquiry "may not be appointed for some time."

The dispatch to the coast paper, indicating how closely the daily press is watching for new developments in the situation, contained a review of points made by the Prime Minister in his House of Commons statement of last August 4:

1. That it would be unwise to allow a concentration of Japanese in British Columbia after the war.
2. That most of the Japanese in Canada had remained loyal.
3. That Japanese immigration should not be allowed after the war.

"He reminded the House, however, that any declared policy 'can not be binding into the indefinite future.'"

The Province correspondent noted that while "Mr. King did not say so, on this occasion, the view has been expressed before that probably a number of Japanese would be required to return to their homeland."

Mr. King was not explicit about what measures might be taken to prevent a post-war concentration of Japanese in B.C., but hoped for the co-operation of other provinces.

"He warned that a definite residence barrier to legally admitted persons or Canadian-born Japanese would be undesirable."

"He said that it would be best for the Japanese themselves to see that their numbers were distributed rather than concentrated."

DEPARTMENT OF LABOUR
CANADA

NOTICE

To All Persons of Japanese Racial Origin Now Resident In British Columbia

1. Japanese Nationals and others of Japanese racial origin who will be returning to Japan, have been informed by notice issued on the authority of the Honourable Minister of Labour, that provision has been made for their return and for the filing of an application for such return. Conditions in regard to property and transportation have been made public.
2. Japanese Canadians who want to remain in Canada should now re-establish themselves East of the Rockies as the best evidence of their intentions to co-operate with the Government policy of dispersal.
3. Failure to accept employment east of the Rockies may be regarded at a later date as lack of co-operation with the Canadian Government in carrying out its policy of dispersal.
4. Several thousand Japanese have already re-established themselves satisfactorily east of the Rockies.
5. Those who do not take advantage of present opportunities for employment and settlement outside British Columbia at this time, while employment opportunities are favourable, will find conditions of employment and settlement considerably more difficult at a later date and may seriously prejudice their own future by delay.
6. To assist those who want to re-establish themselves in Canada, the Japanese Division Placement Offices and the Employment and Selective Service Offices, with the assistance of local Advisory Committees, are making special efforts this Spring to open up suitable employment opportunities across Canada in various lines of endeavour, and in areas where prospects of suitable employment are best.
7. The Department will also provide free transportation to Eastern Canada for members of a family and their effects, a sustenance allowance to be used while in transit, and a placement allowance based in amount on the size of the family.

T. B. PICKERSGILL,
Commissioner of Japanese Placement
Vancouver, B. C.
March 12th, 1945.

Varied Replies To Expulsion Motion

(The Vancouver Province)

NANAIMO.—Nanaimo City Council which two weeks ago refused to endorse a Kelowna resolution asking if Japanese be repatriated after the war, last week rejected a Victoria proposal that the Dominion Government take a referendum on the question at the coming federal election.

Mr. Moran, a Kerr, speaking against the plan, said it was up to the government to take the proper steps in the post-war period. He thought the motion would be guided by the "Big Three" and this was not the time to decide plans of this nature. Victoria's request was replied four to two.

The majority of the city councils in British Columbia which have received the Kelowna Board of Trade resolution urging repatriation of all Japanese Canadians after the war have either rejected or filed it away for further consideration, reports from the daily press indicate.

The Penticton city council ordered the resolution "noted and filed," at the council meeting last Monday, March 5. Said Penticton Herald reporting on the meeting:

"It was evident that the councillors were in no mood to become involved in a long debate on the contentious subject."

Kenyon did suggest that the resolution should cover all races who did not swear allegiance to this country.

"The Japanese."

House Debates Extra Levy on Nisei

VICTORIA, B. C.—British Columbia's Japanese problem was once again in sharp focus in the Legislature on Monday afternoon when C.C.F. members protested the additional \$5 charge levied on young evacuees in relocation centres for correspondence courses, The Vancouver Province reported March 13.

The free-levy was precipitated when the House, in committee of supply, was asked to approve the grant for correspondence courses.

Mrs. Grace MacInnis (C.C.F., Vancouver Burrard) asked why Japanese Canadian youngsters were asked to pay \$5 for a correspondence course when the charge to other students is \$1.

The Education Minister H.G.T. Perry replied that they were evaded by the Dominion Government and added that the problem of educating the children fell on the local school board. "Can you tell me why these interior centres should be subsidized with this additional cost?" he asked.

To W.W. LeFaux's (C.C.F., Vancouver Centre) question whether the province had requested the Dominion to pay the \$65 per student being paid to other provinces for the education of evacuee children, the minister declared angrily "Why talk about selling your birthright for a mess of pottage. I would be selling the whole school system for \$65 a kid."

The need for education, said C.G. MacNeil, (C.C.F., Vancouver Burrard) was more than a need for learning. It would prevent delinquent behaviour for the white people of British Columbia, he said.

COMMISSIONER AND SUPERVISORS CONFERENCE INTERNEE FAMILIES TO GO TO TASHME

VANCOUVER, B. C.—Supervisors of interior housing centres in British Columbia have returned to their posts following a conference here last week-end with Thomas B. Pickersgill, recently appointed Commissioner of Japanese Placement succeeding George C. Collins. Although no report was available on these discussions, it is believed that a general review of policy took place, with regard to the implementation of objectives announced publicly by the government.

Confirmation has also been given to the report that families of men still interned would be moved to Tashme, and that the first step in this transfer took place from Klaho since that project is due to be closed.

Only one councillor dissented.

City councils of the two neighboring municipalities in the Comox district—Courtenay and Cumberland—have taken opposite stands in the matter of repatriation of Japanese residents of Canada to Japan after the war. The Vancouver Province reported March 10.

Both councils, at their last meetings, considered the resolutions from the Kelowna Board of Trade. Cumberland city council endorsed the resolution unanimously, but Courtenay declined, only one of the six aldermen voting for repatriation.

Mayor M.S. Stephens of Courtenay spoke against endorsement of the resolution, declaring that the matter was becoming a "political football" and the city would be well advised to leave it alone, said the report.

Previously, Burnaby, Nelson and Grand Forks among others were reported to have either rejected the resolution or filed it away for further reference.

Appendix I

Toronto Daily Star News Clipping. February 20, 1946. Box 1, Folder 22, Cooperative Committee on Japanese Canadian Fonds. William Ready Division of Archives and Research Collections, McMaster University Library.

INDEX
Amusements—3-9 Radio—18
Births, Deaths—25 Sports—26-27
Comics—28-31 War—32-33-34
Markets—35-37 Women's—38-39

TORONTO DAILY STAR

THE WEATHER
Toronto and vicinity: Bitterly low to night, 6 high tonight, 10.

54TH YEAR TORONTO, WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 20, 1946—36 PAGES 10¢ PER COPY, 35¢ PER WEEK

ORDERS TO DEPORT JAPS UPHELD

10,000 JAP-CANADIANS AFFECTED BY DECISION

Judges Rule Children of Those Subject to Deportation Cannot Be Sent to Japan—May Appeal to Privy Council

Special to The Star
Ottawa, Feb. 20.—Valley of four orders-in-council to deport from Canada persons of Japanese racial origin was upheld today by the supreme court of Canada.

A majority of the court upheld the orders-in-council with the exception of the single section which included as deportable the wife and children under 16 of any person who is deported.

Chief Justice Thibault delivered the judgments, he said, and the court is unanimous in declaring the orders-in-council intra vires within the power of the governor-general in council.

Section two of P.C. 7335 which provides that it is ultra vires and void in law and in equity for the governor-general in council to make any order or orders in council to deport any person or persons of Japanese racial origin, is held to be ultra vires and void in law and in equity.

The questioned paragraph holds "the wife and children under 16 years of age of any person for whom the order-in-council is made, shall be deemed to be included in the order-in-council and shall be subject to the same provisions as such person."

NO NEW DEPORTATION
About 10,000 Canadians and others of Japanese racial origin are expected to be possible deportees as a result of the court finding the orders-in-council are lawful.

Court experts said that it is not considered the court broke any new ground in its judgment. They say the principle that under the War Measures Act that the governor-general in council can do anything that parliament can do has been well recognized.

STAR TURNS PRODUCER
Recent Anna Stashe, top British film star has transferred out into movie production. With her manager, Herbert Wilcox and producer, Anne Stashe, she is producing a new film, "The Sign of the Cross," which is being produced by the British Film Corporation.

FINANCIAL EDITION CLOSING MARKETS

WOMAN SLAIN BODY IS FOUND IN DELHI SNOW

Special to The Star
Simcoe, Feb. 20.—The body of a woman believed to be Mildred Rose of Tillamook, formerly of Toronto, was found today, almost buried in a snow drift. Police believe she was murdered. Her husband found the body while taking his five-year-old daughter to school.

An inquest will be held at Courtland on March 1.

There is no doubt there was a struggle, said Provincial Constable Kenneth McFarlane. There were marks on the dead woman's hands, and marks in the snow in the shape of a struggle, police say. It is believed she had been sexually assaulted. Her clothes were badly torn.

The woman has been identified only by a registered nurse found in her room. McFarlane said the body was found in a snow drift, just outside the gate, in an isolated area about a mile from the town of Delhi.

The woman is described by North York county police as being between 35 and 40, of fair complexion and weighing 130 pounds. The body has been removed to the coroner's office at North York General hospital.

JUST PLAIN Mr. and Mrs. Carl Lundstrom are this couple after their wedding in New York City. The groom, Prince Carl Johan of Sweden, relinquished his rights to the throne in order to marry Mrs. Karin Lundstrom. Bridegroom is the Swedish royal family name.

THREE HURT IN CRASH
A car driven by a woman crashed into a wall today in a residential area of North York.

TORONTO MAN REPORTED MURDERED IN AUSTRALIA

James Taylor, Professor of Philosophy at University of Melbourne, Clubbed and Robbed Getting Off Train at Brisbane

It was believed by authorities in Ontario that James Taylor was clubbed to death and robbed after getting off a train in Brisbane, Australia, he declared Dr. Walter R. Brown, president of Toronto Police Board, today.

Taylor, 35, a professor of philosophy at the University of Melbourne, was reported to have been clubbed and robbed after getting off a train in Brisbane, Australia, he declared Dr. Walter R. Brown, president of Toronto Police Board, today.

Taylor was last seen in Toronto on Feb. 18, when he was seen leaving the University of Toronto.

He was last seen in Toronto on Feb. 18, when he was seen leaving the University of Toronto.

PROF. JAMES TAYLOR

CONFESSED BY POLICE
"The fact," said Dr. Brown, "that Taylor was clubbed to death and robbed after getting off a train in Brisbane, Australia, he declared Dr. Walter R. Brown, president of Toronto Police Board, today.

Taylor was last seen in Toronto on Feb. 18, when he was seen leaving the University of Toronto.

TORONTO DAILY STAR
7
Wed., Feb. 20, 1946

10,000 JAP-CANADIANS FACING DEPORTATION

(Continued from Page One)

expected to go ahead very shortly. During the hearings in the court, counsel for the government, Aime Geoffrion, said that no deportations were being made pending the court's decision.

J. R. Cartwright and F. A. Brewin of Toronto, representing the co-operative committee on Japanese Canadians, opposed the validity of the orders-in-council of Dec. 15, Mr. Brewin also represented the government of Saskatchewan in opposing them.

Hon. R. L. Maitland, attorney-general of British Columbia, supported the validity of the orders-in-council. A full court heard the arguments, which was the first case heard in the new supreme court building.

THREE JUDGES CONCUR

The essence of Chief Justice Rinfret's judgment, concurred in by Justices Kerwin and Taschereau, is contained in his conclusion which follows:

"My conclusion is that orders-in-council 7335, 7336 and 7337 contain legislation that could have been adopted by parliament itself; that such legislation was expressly, impliedly, adopted because it was deemed necessary or advisable for the security, defence, peace, order and welfare of Canada by reason of the existence of war; that the governor in council was the sole judge of the necessity or advisability of these measures, and it is not competent to any court to canvass the considerations which may have led the governor in council to deem such orders necessary or advisable for the objectives set forth.

"The authority conferred on the governor-general is a plenary legis-

JUSTICES DECLARE CANADA CAN DEPORT 10,000 TO 15,000 JAPS

CHIEF JUSTICE RINFRET MR. JUSTICE HUDSON MR. JUSTICE TASCHEREAU MR. JUSTICE KERWIN
MAJORITY OPINION OF THE JUSTICES of the supreme court of Canada is that the federal government has the power to deport between 10,000 and 15,000 of the 24,000 Japanese in Canada. It is the unanimous opinion that the orders-in-council were intra vires, except as to the forcible deportation of wives and children of men being sent to Japan.

R.A.F. MUTINY LEADER FACES DEATH PENALTY

Singapore, Feb. 20.—(RUP)—British authorities announced today A.C. Norris Cymbalist, of Inverness, Scotland, will go on trial before a courtmartial on charges of "inciting mutiny" in connection with the strike of R.A.F. enlisted men here last month. The accused ringleader faces a death sentence if convicted.

Cymbalist was arrested at the Kallang airport on Jan. 27, after the strikers elected him chairman of their group, organized to press for speedier demobilization and redeployment.

foreign shores. I am unable to agree with that contention.

DEPRIVATION OF RIGHTS
"In these days, we are familiar with exchanges or transfers of sections of population from one coun-

privileges of such persons as Canadian nationals.

"Order 7337 in intra vires of the governor in council, subject to the observance of the requirements of the Naturalization Act as to grounds for the revocation of naturalization."

KELLOCK DISSENTS
Mr. Justice Roy Kellock held the orders in council are ultra vires in several respects, including where they authorize the deportation of naturalized British subjects who do not wish to leave Canada, and where they prevent such persons from withdrawing their consent at any time and in any manner.

He declared "it is not easy to see how parliament either did or would contemplate the extension of the specified power of deportation is not as wide as the definition in P.C. 7335, I do not think that what is lacking can be made up, in a case like the present, by the general words with which the subsection begins.

being deported "is not sufficient Mr. Justice Kellock declared.

He agreed with other judges that the orders-in-council do not deprive a person affected of their right for habeas corpus writs to test the validity of their detention.

During the hearing, both counsel for the government and opponents of the measure held that this is an important point, for many of the persons now held for deportation. It was indicated, likely to take their cases to court.

In dealing with the deportation of natural born British subject of the Japanese race, Mr. Justice B. Hudson held, "there would more difficulty in upholding the order were it not for the 4th of the request. Ample opportunity has been and still is given to subject for reconsideration withdrawal before the final order is made. It has in my opinion adequate legislative sanction."

Appendix J

Sunahara, Ann Gomer. *The Politics of Racism: The Uprooting of Japanese Canadians during the Second World War*. Toronto: Lorimer Press, 1981.

TABLE 4: Distribution of Japanese in Canada – 1942 to 1 January 1947

Province	1942	1943	1944	1945	1946	1947/01/01
B.C.	21,975	16,504	16,103	15,610	14,716	6,776
Alberta	534	3,231	3,469	3,559	3,681	4,180
Saskatchewan	100	129	153	157	164	505
Manitoba	30	1,084	1,094	1,052	1,052	1,186
Ontario	132	1,650	2,424	2,914	3,742	6,616
Québec	25	96	344	532	716	1,247
New Brunswick	—	—	—	—	10	10
P.E.I.	—	—	—	—	—	6
Nova Scotia	2	1	1	1	1	1
Yukon & N.W.T.	39	30	29	30	30	31
	2,837	22,725	23,617	23,854	24,112	20,558
Repatriated to Japan	42	61	—	—	3964	—

Sources: Canada, Department of Labour, *Report on the Re-establishment of Japanese in Canada, 1944-46* (mimeo., 1947), pp. 11, 15, 25; Canada, Department of Labour, *Report on the Administration of Japanese Affairs, 1942-1944* (mimeo., 1944), pp. 28,29.

Appendix K

National Interchurch Advisory Committee, "Planning Resettlement of Japanese Canadians," April 1944, Box 1, Folder 18, Cooperative Committee on Japanese Canadian Fonds, William Ready Division of Archives and Research Collections, McMaster University Library.

exactly the same wages as other Canadians doing the same type of work.

(c) The criminal record of the Japanese on the West Coast has been the lowest of any racial group.

(d) As a group they are bright, intelligent, industrious, ambitious, well mannered and clean.

(e) When a chance is given they readily adopt our Canadian way of life—they wear our clothing, they live in our homes, they speak our language, they attend our churches (over one-half of them are members or adherents of Christian churches), they sing our songs, they salute our flag.

(f) The majority of them are loyal. When the evacuation order was issued, nearly all of them said in a true patriotic spirit that they would co-operate as their duty and sacrifice for their country's cause. The United States has acknowledged their attitude by admitting them into the armed forces. By March 1st, 1944, more than 9,000 were so serving. Nearly 100 have already paid "the last full measure of devotion." Loyalty to a country never has been and is not a matter of biological inheritance; it is the product of education and of environment. A good Canadian is one who is loyal to this country and to our creed of liberty and democracy, serving as best he can wherever he can in the war effort.

How You Can Help

Although this folder is prepared by church representatives primarily for distribution among church people, all men and women of good will are urged to co-operate. Here are some ways in which you can be of help.

(a) First of all welcome these evacuees when they come to your community. Make them feel at home in your homes, your churches, your clubs and your groups. Use them in your work—some have very special talents. The first soprano soloist in one of the largest Toronto churches is a Canadian born Japanese. The Supervisor of one of the girls work camps sponsored by the Y.W.C.A. last summer stated that the outstanding personality in a group of 80 was a Japanese Canadian. They are well liked and mix well in youth organizations of all kinds.

(b) Help them secure decent living quarters. In doing this it may be that you can open up your own home, either to provide rooms or both rooms and board.

(c) Do what you can to help them secure decent jobs. Many of them have special skills which would be an asset to your community. Resettlement will

never be an accomplished fact until the evacuees are financially independent.

(d) Quite a few of the more mature as well as some of the younger folk, especially those who have lived in lonely out-of-the-way places, need help with their English. Organize classes where necessary or coach them as individuals. Fluent use of the English language is essential to any thorough-going Canadianization.

(e) Acquaint yourself with the whole issue of evacuation and resettlement. See that your group and your community becomes equally well informed. Constitute yourself an advocate for a just and humane treatment of these "war victims". *Deal with facts not rumors*—many of the latter are quite without foundation. Secure and use available literature. Write to your newspapers in their defence.

(f) If the number of evacuees concerned is at all large organize a local committee and make "Resettlement" in all its phases a community project in democratic citizenship.

Immediate Action Urgent

It is now about two years since the evacuation began. Enough time has elapsed to allow the first excitement due to invasion threats to subside and to justify the making of future plans on the basis of past experience. In the new order envisaged by so many we must be prepared to live in peace with people of all races; intolerance and bigotry must be unknown words. It ill becomes us to cry for justice and peace abroad while treating fellow Canadians with suspicion and neglect. To you as a Christian and as a citizen of a democratic country our appeal is made that every assistance be given these people in their search for a new home and a decent livelihood. Give them a fair chance to prove their loyalty and industry as part of our democratic war against fascism in all its evil aspects.

•

Address all enquiries to your nearest British Columbia Security Commission office. Placement offices are at the following addresses:

174 Spadina Avenue	-	Toronto, Ont.
270 St. James St. W.	-	Montreal, P.Q.
Customs Bldg.	-	Fort William, Ont.
740 Somerset Bldg.	-	Winnipeg, Man.
1102 Fifth Ave. S.	-	Lethbridge, Alta.

*Planning
Resettlement of
Japanese Canadians*

Loyalty to a country never has been and is not a matter of biological inheritance; it is the product of education and of environment. A good Canadian is one who is loyal to the country and to our creed of liberty and democracy.

THE NATIONAL INTERCHURCH
ADVISORY COMMITTEE
on
RESETTLEMENT OF
JAPANESE CANADIANS

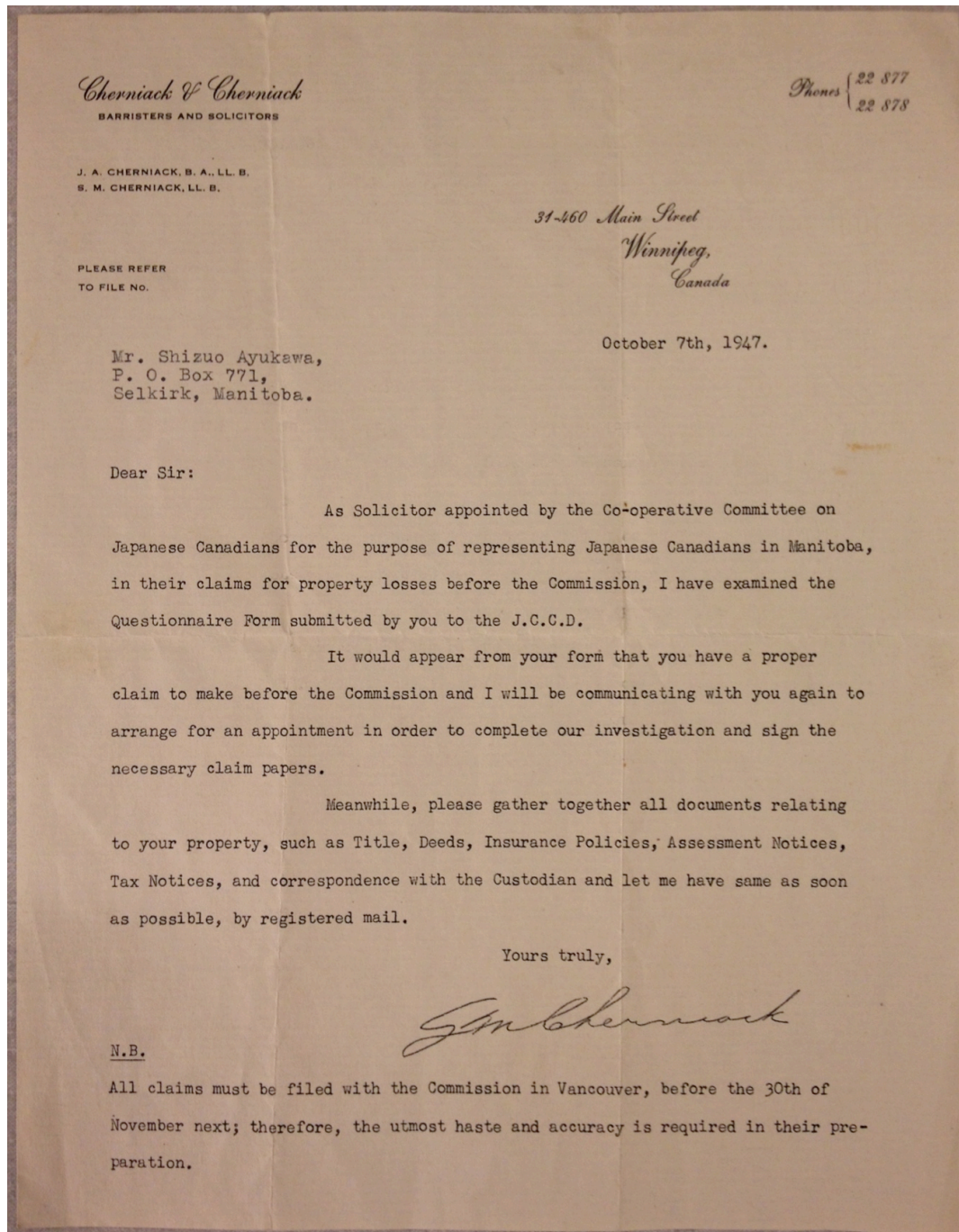
Rev. George Dorey, D.D.
Rev. E. H. Johnson
Rev. W. W. Judd, D.C.L.
Rev. Fr. A. E. McQuillen
Rev. C. H. Schutt, D.D.

April, 1944

Appendix L

Letter from Saul Cherniack, a well-known attorney in the Co-operative Committee on Japanese Canadians, to Shizuo Ayukawa.

Library and Archives Canada (LAC), Ayukawa Family Fonds.



Appendix M

Ayukawa Veterans' Land Act, Farm Appraisal Report. Library and Archives Canada (LAC), Ayukawa Family Fonds.

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BC/2672-B
VETERANS' LAND ACT
FARM APPRAISAL REPORT

RO New Westminster
RO File Cca. 22
D.O. 22.918
D.O. File 22.918

Japanese
Vendor's Name Shiguo AYUKAWA

Legal land description Lot 4 of Part of 52 $\frac{1}{2}$ of Sec. 20, Twp. 17, Map 5727,
Municipality of Mission N.W.D. Average 9.00

Vendor's Name Address Mission, B. C.
Municipality, Township or Parish Mission County Westminister, B. C.

Nearest rail point Mission 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ Miles N.S.E.W.; Market Town Mission 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ Miles

Predominating nationality British Religion Protestant Nearest churches, denominations and distances All denominations Mission Schools: Public 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ Miles, High 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ Miles

Employment opportunities Seasonal berry work. Usual town jobs at Mission.
Some lumber mill and bush work 7 or 8 miles away but not easy to get
except when labour is short. Some cannery work at Mission.

How did you identify this property? Map, roads. Facing from known point and tenant.

Roads: Has property access to main road; kind of road and condition Is road open in winter?
On good gravelled road - open the year around.

Is farm average, above or below average and why? Good average Mission small fruit farm.

Fencing, kind and condition No fencing.
Establish ownership line fences by conforming with neighbours No fences.

Water supply (give details) Plentiful supply of good water from 35' cribbed well
near house. Winter creek crosses property about $\frac{1}{2}$ way back but is dry
in summer.

Drainage (natural or tile) Is it adequate? Good natural surface and sub drainage.

Fertility and tillage (describe) Decently fertile berry land. Till this year well
tilled but gone back this year. 2.5 acres strawberries planted in 1942.
All fruit as shown on sketch is good bearing stuff.

Weeds (names and extent) Little in way of noxious weeds. Considerable smartweed.

Average yield per acre (hay and grain) Property would yield good average yields for district

State type of farming most suitable Small fruit and poultry.

Many local sales not far away. Gibbons to
Gorrie 10 acres with 450 hens and a quantity of
lumber at \$4000 buildings add. \$250.00 - 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ acres clear. Leaves land at
\$450. Backmann sold it. Miss Casselman purchased 40 ac. no blags. 2 yrs.
ago at \$1500. 15 ac. of it poor orchard.

Appendix N

Milan, Anne, and T. Chui Maheux. "A Portrait of Couples in Mixed Unions." *Canadian Social Trends*, no. 89. Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 11-008-X (2010): 70-82.

Table 1 Out-group pairing by visible minority group, 2006

Visible minority group	Couples		
	Total	Mixed union	Same visible minority group
	number	percentage	
All visible minority groups¹	1,214,400	23.8	76.2
Japanese	29,700	74.7	25.3
Latin American	85,200	47.0	53.0
Black	136,000	40.6	59.4
Filipino	107,400	33.1	66.9
Southeast Asian	58,100	31.1	68.9
Arab/West Asian	105,700	25.0	74.9
Korean	34,800	19.5	80.5
Chinese	321,700	17.4	82.6
South Asian	327,200	12.7	87.3
Multiple groups or n.i.e. ²	50,400	58.4	41.6

1. The number of couples by specific visible minority group does not sum to the total because if the two persons in a couple belong to two different visible minority groups, these couples are counted in each group.
2. Belonging to multiple visible minority groups means that respondents reported more than one visible minority group by checking two or more mark-in circles, e.g., Black and South Asian. Less common visible minority groups are reported in the visible minority n.i.e. (not included elsewhere) category. This category includes respondents who reported a write-in response such as Guyanese, West Indian, Kurd, Tibetan, Polynesian and Pacific Islander.

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 2006.

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